

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)  
BLACK EXTREMIST**

**100-448006**

**SECTION 13**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

DATE: 10/8/69

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Director's letter to Charlotte 8/18/69.

On 9/18/69 a preliminary discussion concerning [redacted] and Black Extremists Activities was held with [redacted]. Public source type data was furnished [redacted]. He stated from this and other information available to him he planned to interview a number of individuals throughout N. C. who have either been connected with [redacted] or would have knowledge of [redacted] activities along with that of other Black Extremists.

After conducting these interviews he will assemble his article and recontact the FBI, Charlotte. [redacted] understands that the Bureau cannot be disclosed as a source of any information and his planned interviews should insure that the Bureau's interest is not disclosed.

Charlotte will follow this matter and advise the Bureau of any results, it being noted that [redacted] was unsure of the exact date this article is to appear in print which could be as late as November, 1969.

1-806 D  
2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Charlotte

(4)

REC 85

ST 109

9 OCT 10 1969

RACIAL INTL



5010-106-11

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 10/1/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COINTELPRO BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

ReWFOairtels, 9/19/69 and 9/24/69; Buairtel, 9/24/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two separate news releases regarding the BUF.

WFO is of the opinion that the release of either of these items would result in acute embarrassment to the BUF and cause internal dissention within its ranks. It will, in all probability, cause Black leaders to view each other with suspicion and could possibly result in [REDACTED] resigning from the BUF.

As the Bureau is aware, the timing of the release of these stories is of paramount importance and the number one story should be released immediately after the BUF confronts church groups and while the story is still fresh in the minds of the public.

The second item should be released about one week before the NMC comes to Washington, D. C., in order to counter activities of that organization as well as to embarrass the BUF, or at such time as WFO learns that [REDACTED] have received letters from the NMC stating that the NMC does not plan to compensate the BUF for those NMC followers who visit WDC for the proposed peace demonstration.

ENCLOSURE  
2 - Bureau (Enc. 2)  
2 - WFO  
(1 - 157-1426)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

22 OCT 9 1969

REC-65

100-448006-1336

5-220M

EX-111

news 10/7/69

2



**BUF WAGES FRAUDULENT CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST LOCAL CHURCHES**

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According to a woman member of the Black United Front who "was there when [redacted] called the first meeting to form the Front", the current BUF campaign against white religious groups in the Washington area is a fraud.

The lady who desired to remain anonymous told a (name of newspaper) reporter that at a meeting held on September 18, 1969, at the Douglas Memorial Methodist Church, 11th and H Streets, N.E., some shocking statements were made by BUF officials.

Chocked with emotion, this lady who "attends church every Sunday, rain or shine", stated that the [redacted] in announcing plans at the September meeting to move on churches and synagogues in the Washington area stated the BUF did not contemplate receiving money from the churches, but planned to use the confrontations as "a political thing to show churches are wealthy racist organizations".

The lady related that at this point in the meeting a young woman said "when we make demands they should be so large the churches will be unable to pay" and suggested the BUF ask the synagogues for \$4 billion and Protestant churches for \$2 billion, "just to make sure they will be unable to meet the terms". [redacted] is alleged to have replied the amounts to be demanded had not been set but would be quite high.

The woman further alleged that when [redacted] was asked what would happen if one of the churches offered a substantial sum such as \$25,000 he replied: "The BUF would have no choice but to accept the money."

200-41-106-1536

Describing the atmosphere as anything but religious, the woman, close to tears while relating this story, remarked: "I don't know how that preacher can make a sermon in his church on Sunday and then go out and demand money from other churches when he knows in his own heart he's playing games."

42 The BUF has demanded reparations from several area churches beginning on September 7, when a group of 50 blacks stood before the congregation of the Resurrection Lutheran Church in Arlington and demanded 15 per cent of the capital budgets of Arlington churches and synagogues. They sharply criticized the churches' all-white congregation, particularly [REDACTED] who is a member.

This was followed on September 21, by a "black man's manifesto" read at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church, demanding \$25,000 cash and 50 per cent of the annual income of the church for what was termed church-sanctioned racism.

On September 22, at a press conference held shortly after 8:00 p.m., on the steps of B'nai Israel Synagogue, 4606 16th Street, N.W., a representative of the BUF asked the Washington area Jewish community to pay \$10 million in reparations while on Sunday, September 28, [REDACTED] asked the National Presbyterian Church for \$2 million in reparations at a talk at the 11:00 a.m. service that date.

4

MEMBER OF BUF EXPRESSES  
SHOCK AT HOBSON STAND

Washington, D. C., Oct.--An official of the Black United Front, obviously angry, expressed shock at a report he had received that [REDACTED], militant black leader, had agreed to speak at a November rally of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam to be held in Washington, D. C., only if the NMC promised not to take up a collection for the BUF.

Clearly upset and bitter over [REDACTED] decision, the BUF official, who asked his name not be used, stated the BUF, recalling the violent confrontation between police and members of the black community which took place the day Resurrection City was invaded and torn down by Federal and local authorities, had asked the NMC for a payment of \$25,000 to compensate blacks should a recurrence of such brutal attacks take place.

The BUF official stated it was feared white radicals would create a confrontation which would spill over into neighborhoods populated by blacks who comprise over 70% of the population and result in indiscriminate tear-gas attacks on demonstrators which would work undue hardship and suffering on innocent black people.

The BUF official stated [REDACTED] actions clearly revealed him to be an "Uncle Tom", willing to sell out the interests of the black community to white intellectuals and radicals, thus exposing his black brothers to a violent confrontation with the police should disorders take place during peace movement demonstrations. He expressed dismay Hobson would place political expediency and personal gain before the welfare of the black community and wondered if Hobson was, indeed, a suitable candidate for the District of Columbia School Board during a critical period in which the needs of black children was of paramount importance.

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/6/69

FROM : *PL* SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Omaha letter to Bureau 9/22/69.

*44* There has been no change in activities of the BPP in Omaha, Nebraska, and Des Moines, Iowa, since submission of re letter and no further information has been developed concerning the newly formed United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) in Omaha.

In view of the above, Omaha does not feel that concrete recommendations can be made at this time regarding counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP or the newly formed UFAF.

This matter will continue to receive close attention and suggestions for counterintelligence action against the above organizations and its leadership will be submitted by separate communications.

EX. - 117

REC-38

100-111717-122  
22 OCT 9 1969

②-Bureau (RM)  
2-Omaha

(4)



411  
810 940  
58 OCT 20 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED IN ENVELOPE

1 -  
1 -

SAC, New York (100-161140)

10/9/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReNYairtel and LHM captioned "BPP Free Clothing For Children Program, RM" dated 9/30/69 and SFairtel and LHM 9/30/69 captioned "BPP Clothing For Children Program, RM."

Referenced SFairtel and LHM pointed out that about 5,000 pounds of clothing were given away in New York City on 9/28/69. During this giveaway the BPP distributed propaganda material. Information appearing in this LHM disclosed that the news media gave this event considerable coverage.

Referenced NYairtel and LHM disclosed that approximately four tons of clothing, stored in Flushing, New York, was given by the Junior Chamber of Commerce to a Chicago-based hate group known as the "Young Lords." The Young Lords turned this clothing over to the Panthers for the giveaway.

The above presents an interesting possibility for effective counterintelligence against the BPP. New York should assess the press and TV publicity given this program and thereafter forward a specific counterintelligence proposal designed to negate this publicity. Handle promptly.

1 - San Francisco

REC-81

SI 109

1 OCT 9 1969

(6)

NOTE:

Under the guise of giving free clothing to ghetto children, BPP spreads its antiwhite and antilaw enforcement propaganda. Without the help of the average black citizen, BPP cannot survive. The group will go to any length to obtain this support.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 OCT 15 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

DATE: 10/6/69

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
~~BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS~~  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re IP letter to Bureau dated 9/22/69.

On 9/28/69, it was learned that three members of the Chicago Chapter of the BPP were in Indianapolis and they had taken over the Indianapolis Chapter and stripped the officers of their rank. The members from Chicago included [REDACTED] brother of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was made aware of the presence of the three members from Chicago and furnished photos and descriptions of the three. The [REDACTED] in turn watched closely the activities of the three and the BPP in Indianapolis.

As a matter of counterintelligence interest, the three Chicago members were arrested by the IPD, while in the act of placing a battery in their car which they had just stolen from a parked car. The three were charged with OAPA, Larceny, and [REDACTED] was arrested for violation of the 1935 Firearms Act as a gun was found in the glove compartment of the car which was registered to [REDACTED]. All three were held on bond; [REDACTED] on \$7,500 surety bond, and [REDACTED] on \$3,500 surety bond. They have a court date set for 10/10/69.

The BPP in Indianapolis is in a more increased state of confusion due to the arrest of the Chicago members who had taken over the Chapter and they presently have only about five or six active members, at most.

ST. 109

REC-73

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Indianapolis  
(1 -157-1061)

22 OCT 8 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *PLH* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 10/6/69

Re Newark letter to Bureau 9/22/69.

During the past two weeks no counterintelligence measures were aimed against the BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP).

No accomplishments were obtained during previous two-week period under captioned program.

EX-102

REC-54

OCT 7 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark

(3)



7 OCT 14 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DATE: 9/22/69

with  
copy of the  
let & LHM

SUBJECT: (COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(NFI) (157-4054)

FRIENDS OF THE BLACK PANTHERS  
RACIAL MATTER  
(157-3701)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
LOS ANGELES DIVISION  
RACIAL MATTER  
(157-1615)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE 4-19-77 \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) carrying the dual caption of "Friends of the Black Panthers" and "Black Panther Party". Two copies are enclosed for San Francisco.

The attached LHM is being disseminated locally to military agencies.

The survey referred to in the attached LHM is

AGENCY: ACSI. ~~OSI~~. OSI, SEC. SERV.,  
DEPT: OSD, ~~SEC. SERV.~~, IDIU,

12  
6

## HOW TO:

DATE FORW

Classified by: 269  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification: Indefinite

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM) ✓  
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 3) (RM)  
3 - Los Angeles (157-4054)  
(157-3701)  
(157-1618)

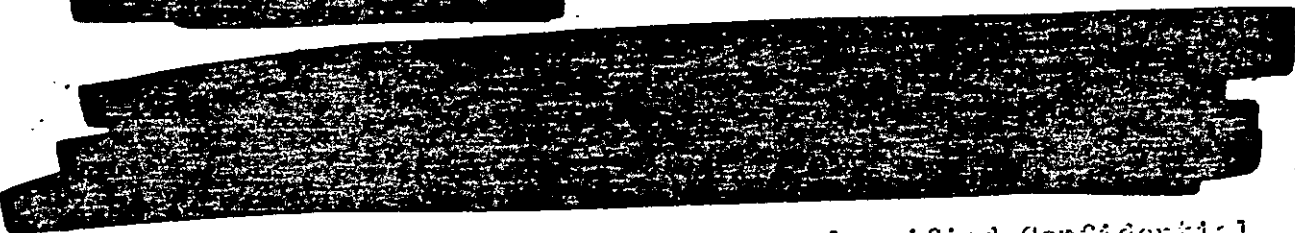
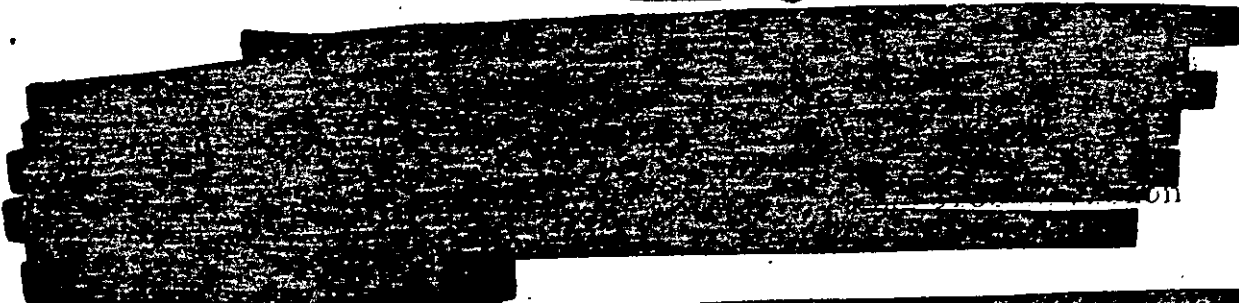

8 OCT 6 1969

59 NOV 7

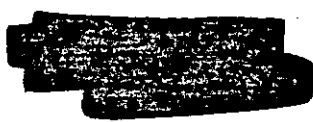
OCT 20 1969



LA 157-4054  
LA 157-3701  
LA 157-1613



The attached LHM is being classified Confidential inasmuch as data set forth from sources utilized could result in identification of sources of continuing value and this identification could adversely effect the internal security of the United States.



APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it".

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 2106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS  
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for  
Protection of Foreign Born (LACDBR)

A source advised in May 1969 that the LACDBR has expanded its former scope of interest relating to the foreign born, and has become a militant general defense organization allegedly seeking to safeguard the rights of all individuals, including the foreign born, as well as those seeking to avoid military service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

The LACDBR is a non-membership organization which is represented by an Administrative Board of about 125 individuals form loosely organized area committees interested in the work of the LACDBR. These board members are invited by ROSE CHERNIN, Executive Director of the LACDBR, who is the guiding, dominant, and motivating force behind the LACDBR. Its headquarters are maintained at 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles, California.

Another source advised in May 1969, that ROSE CHERNIN is currently Organizational Secretary of the Moranda Smith Section of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City May 31, to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution", a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio", a monthly newspaper.

The August 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level".

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes and address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

APPENDIXW. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised on July 26, 1968, that JARVIS TYNER continues in his position as Chairman of the DCA.

This fourth source also advised on July 26, 1968, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

This fourth source further advised on July 26, 1968, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)

10-14-69

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1330

ST-110

REC-57

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

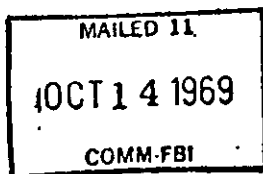
RePHlet 10-2-69.

Philadelphia should advise the Bureau of the identity of the person on the Philadelphia Inquirer staff to whom the public source information will be furnished. In addition, Philadelphia should more specifically describe the information which will be furnished. Handle promptly.

[REDACTED]  
(4)

NOTE:

Philadelphia has recommended that public source information concerning the BPP be furnished an [REDACTED] of the Philadelphia Office who is employed on the staff of the Philadelphia Inquirer.



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_

51 OCT 22 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Gandy

17

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 10/2/69

Re Bureau letter, 8/14/68.

On 9/23/69, the Philadelphia Office secured and executed a warrant of arrest for Philadelphia BPP Caption [REDACTED], charging him with Possession of Stolen Government Property, namely, an M-14 rifle found in [REDACTED] living quarters. That arrest has created immediate confusion and disorganization as well as suspicion in the BPP ranks. Sources report that at the present time the chapter is attempting to regroup and that help has been requested of National Headquarters.

The Philadelphia BPP has announced that two of its members are running for City Council seats in the November elections in this city. They are trying to institute a Free Health Clinic and have indicated that a building has been secured to house this project. Also, current efforts are being made to revitalize the Breakfast Program which has been steadily decreasing in attendance.

Philadelphia feels that the time is particularly opportune for dissemination of information to the "Philadelphia Inquirer". This morning newspaper is an [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

It is felt that a feature article on the BPP, with particular emphasis on the organization's propensity for violence, would be greatly disruptive of these efforts by the BPP to bring itself before the public in a favorable light.

Philadelphia anticipates that such an article could feature short biographical sketches of BPP leaders NEWTON, CLEAVER and SEALE, noting their criminal records. Excerpts.

- 2 - Bureau (100-448006) RM
- 3 - Philadelphia (157-2371)
  - 1 - 157-2004
  - 1 - 157-new

8 OCT 3 1969



5010-108-01

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RECEIVED INT. SEC.



PH 157-2371

from speeches featuring calls for violence or advocating revolution might also be included. The article, likewise, could be devoted in part to reiterating the charge against [REDACTED] to convey his adherence to suggestions or direction from National Headquarters to gather arms.

Regarding the Breakfast Program, Philadelphia feels that the article might carry an interview with [REDACTED] United Citizens Association, who let the BPP use his organization's premises one day for the Breakfast. [REDACTED] threw the Panthers out when he learned they were teaching the children disrespect for the police. The newspaper could be directed to [REDACTED] who it is felt would be happy to furnish a rebuttal of Panther charges that he kicked the kids out because he did not like some of them. "The Black Panther" edition of 8/23/69 carried an article on Page 15 denouncing [REDACTED]. This article could be furnished to the "Inquirer" to assist in interview of [REDACTED].

Philadelphia requests Bureau authorization to contact the "Philadelphia Inquirer" relative to printing a feature article on the BPP.

Administrative Data

For purposes of control, Philadelphia is establishing a separate file for counterintelligence re the BPP.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/1/69

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (157-3214) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BPP

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, dated 9/12/69, Detroit airtel to Bureau, dated 9/19/69, and Detroit letter to Bureau, dated 6/30/69, captioned, "COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS - LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS", (Bufile 157-12523).

## Black Panther Party

Referenced Detroit airtel sets forth details of a Bureau-approved letter sent out to members of the Detroit BPP and made to appear as though it had been sent by one of the leaders of the Detroit BPP. Since this letter went out quite recently (9/17/69) the results are not completely discernable at this time; however, it is clear that the letter has caused a good deal of consternation and distrust among the members of the Detroit BPP and has resulted in having been branded as a police informant by the BPP National Headquarters, which, in turn, will almost certainly result in her being purged from the party. This disruption has come at a time when the Detroit chapter of the BPP can least afford it: since the "execution of its former Minister of Defense, the Detroit Chapter has been closed on orders from the national party. It has only recently received permission to reactivate itself but is not yet allowed to use the name Black Panther Party. As soon as some of the leaders, presently in California undergoing political reindoctrination, return to Detroit, the party here will reopen for a 30-day trial period under the name "United Front Against Fascism". If, during this time, it proves itself worthy, it will be permitted to reassume the BPP standard.

REC-20

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Detroit

(4)

EX-106

15 OCT 3 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 OCT 10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108-01

20

Detroit believes that this chapter of the BPP will fail to achieve the cohesiveness and support it previously enjoyed. To insure this, Detroit will watch the direction taken by the "new party" and submit counterintelligence proposals for its disruption.

League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW)

Referenced communication concerning the LRBW indicates that on 6/25/69 a commercial checking account was opened by the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) at the Bank of the Commonwealth, Detroit, Michigan. The check used to open this account was in the amount of \$5,000.00 and drawn on the account of the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organization, Inc. (IFCO).

DRUM is a branch of the LRBW. Clearly, the LRBW is a union organization; in fact, it offered a slate of black candidates in recent union elections at two Chrysler plants in the Detroit area.

The Detroit Counterintelligence Program might profitably utilize this information by providing for its indirect dissemination to the UAW and Teamsters Unions in Detroit. Hopefully, this would result in the unions leveling a fusillade at the LRBW for operating as a labor union while being financed by a tax-exempt religious organization which would:

1. Bring pressure on DRUM and the LRBW from the United States Department of Labor to file an annual report concerning funding and organization. (Through liaison with the Labor Department, it has been determined that this report has not been filed).
2. Serve to discredit IFCO with the white church groups which supply it with funds.
3. Instill doubts in the minds of the rank and file of LRBW and DRUM concerning the honesty of its leadership; and possibly with good reason, since initial checks with the DRUM account at the Bank of the Commonwealth seem to indicate that a portion of the \$5,000.00 was used for the personal expenses of the union officers.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *gh*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS)

1 - Mr. L. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale

DATE: 9/24/69

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This is to request approval for the attached memorandum and letter to be given by the Crime Records Division to a friendly news media.

Robert Franklin Williams fled this country in 1961 following his indictment by the State of North Carolina on kidnapping charges growing out of a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina. Williams resided in Cuba until 1966 when he moved to Peking, China. Shortly after arriving in Peking, he wrote a letter to Fidel Castro bitterly complaining of his treatment while in Cuba but pledging his continuing support for the Cuban revolution. The Cuban Embassy in Peking, China, refused to transmit the letter by diplomatic channels to Havana, Cuba, and Williams sent it to friends who distributed it in the U.S.

Williams returned to this country in 9/69 at Detroit, Michigan, where he is presently on bond pending legal actions against him on a Federal Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution - Kidnapping warrant and a kidnapping indictment in the State of North Carolina.

It is felt that publication of this letter will show the public the true nature of Williams and his revolutionary thinking. It will help counteract statements he is now freely making to the press to the effect that he only wants to help the Negro cause in this country. Although copies of this letter have been received by the Bureau from sources, its distribution has been sufficiently widespread so as not to compromise any of these sources.

## ACTION:

If approved, refer to the Crime Records Division for its consideration with regard to making attached available to a cooperative news media on a confidential basis.

Enclosures

(8)

ENCLOSURE

OCT 9 1969

OK REC-41

EX-100

3 OCT 2 1969

22

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale  
 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
 1 - [REDACTED]  
 1 - [REDACTED]

September 24, 1969

Robert Franklin Williams, in 1961, led militant civil rights activities in Monroe, North Carolina, which led to armed conflict between whites and blacks. During one such incident a white couple was held for several hours in Williams' house. As a result Williams, along with several others, was indicted on a charge of kidnapping. When Williams could not be found by local authorities, a Federal warrant was issued charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution - Kidnapping.

Williams fled to Cuba where he and his family resided until 1966. He continued to publish "The Crusader," a hate type newsletter in which he advocated that Negroes arm themselves and fight in the streets for their freedom. He also appeared on Radio Havana over which he broadcast the same type of propaganda.

In 1966 Williams and family moved to Peking, China, claiming that he was no longer safe in Cuba and he was not being given support in his fight for Afro-American freedom. In China he continued to publish "The Crusader" and in 1968 he visited Tanzania where he met with U. S. leaders of the Republic of New Africa, a black separatist organization, which had elected him as its president. In 1969 he again returned to Tanzania and from there returned to the U. S., landing in Detroit, Michigan. He was arrested upon his arrival and released on bond.

According to news releases since his return to U. S., Williams has been quoted as saying he returned because it's time for the Negro to serve notice he is no longer running and he (Williams) wants to help his people in their struggle for freedom. In a letter dated August 28, 1966, upon his arrival in Peking, China, Williams wrote Fidel Castro bitterly complaining of treatment afforded him in Cuba. He expressed his gratitude to Castro and the Cuban people

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(10)

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

23

for assistance in his escape from U. S. and stated he would always be a friend of the Cuban Revolution. He protested that he had not been given the proper support in his campaign for the Afro-American struggle. He accused Castro's subordinates of conspiring against him and claimed these officials showed no interest in the Afro-American struggle. He concluded by stating it was his revolutionary duty to report to Castro the sabotage being directed by Cuban officials against the Negro freedom movement in the U. S.

A copy of this letter is attached.

Enclosure

NOTE:

See memorandum dated 9/24/69, captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence," and prepared by GTT:lis.

Peking, China  
August 28, 1966

Dear Fidel:

First of all, I want to thank you and the Cuban people for assisting me when I was escaping from the United States. I will always be grateful to the Cuban people and I will always be a friend of the Cuban Revolution. In fact, this is the very reason why I take the liberty to write you this letter from my second exile. The reason that I bother to bring these matters to your attention, or later to the attention of the public if necessary, is because I find it impossible to believe that Commandante Vallejo, Peniero and others close around you have fully, truthfully and faithfully informed you of these ignominious experiences that I encountered while living in Cuba.

Shortly after my arrival in Cuba I requested support for the Afro-American struggle in the U.S.A. I first requested an information office with the purpose of acquainting the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa with the revolutionary potential of the Afro-American struggle and the brutal nature of U.S. racism and its relation to U.S. imperialism. This revolutionary request was never granted. I also requested permission and facilities to broadcast both long and shortwave, especially to the Afro-American people in the U.S.A. After much bickering and red tape I was finally allowed to proceed with the broadcast from Radio Progreso, however, the facilities of Radio Havana, which was to be the short wave broadcast in the name of Radio Free Dixie, were completely denied. I was told that this was because Radio Havana is the official voice of the Cuban Government and that the Cuban Government could not be identified in this way with the Afro-American struggle. I was never allowed the use of the shortwave facilities which would have enabled me to reach the great masses of our people all over the U.S. and especially on the West Coast where there is a heavy concentration of my fellow workers and followers. We would have also been able to reach the people of Africa, Latin America and other places where the people manifested great interest by the letters that we received. Also I made a request from the government and the Party for a certain amount of dollars that would have enabled me to subscribe to the newspapers, magazines and other publications that were necessary for me to maintain a close relation with our struggle. Finally the Party had allocated \$200 dollars a month. I was told this by Commandante Peniero's office, and that this \$200 dollars was to allow me to subscribe to papers, magazines and to buy phonograph records so that I would have the latest music from the United States to use on Radio Free Dixie to increase our listening audience. The \$200 dollars a month was to be used by somebody who was working at the United Nations and the things would be sent to me often in the pouch from the U.N. However, I never received any of the \$200 dollars a month nor the publications.

ENCLOSURE

25

Later I was able to get donations and contributions from supporters inside the United States for publications, records and materials that I needed for my work. Also, many of the listeners of Radio Free Dixie donated musical recordings currently popular among the Afro-American masses to be used on Radio Free Dixie. However, these publications and records when sent were taken from the mail, taken from the Post Office and sometimes when things were sent by boat they were taken from the boat. And there were instances when even personal things purchased by persons in our movement in the States and sent to me were deliberately taken. They were taken from the pouch and taken from the Foreign Ministry. When I went to the Foreign Ministry to complain, I was always given the excuse that they did not know who was responsible for this and that they did not know who was taking these things out of the pouch. So, this handicapped our struggle very much. Later, I discovered that some of the newspapers and recordings were showing up other places and they were showing up more and more in the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry, the officials there, were allowing mercenaries, thieves and pirates to practice piracy against our struggle and against the property of our struggle and the things we needed to work with. Also this was a way to cripple our broadcast and to weaken our publication and to keep us behind so that we could not keep up with the news. I even complained to the Party about these dishonorable practices being carried out. There were many other Americans living in Cuba and they were able to use the pouch. The Amigos de Cuba, an organization of Americans living there, was able to receive things from the pouch. Many of them and their representatives were able to travel in and out of Cuba to make purchases in the United States and Canada and to have these things sent back by ship and they were able to receive all kinds of things that did not have anything to do with struggle. Even after I found it impossible to rely on the Foreign Ministry, the pouch and the Mambisa shipping lines, I requested through Commandante Peniero's office that my wife be allowed to go to Canada so that she could contact our friends and purchase the records and pick up the magazines and books and all the things pertaining to our struggle that we needed. I was repeatedly told that this would be impossible because there were so many repatriates returning to Cuba that there was no room on the ship for her to travel. I found out later that this was untrue because other Americans were traveling from Havana to Canada and into the United States and back to Cuba at will and as much as they wanted to. I later discovered that this was just a plot to try to wreck our struggle and to crush our organization, and was done in conjunction with forces inside the U.S., including the U.S. Communist Party which was opposed to our method of struggle and which advocated a policy of nonviolence in support of Rev. Martin Luther King.



After our program Radio Free Dixie, became very successful and it was noted throughout the world that it was a successful broadcast that had great impact on the Afro-American masses in the U.S., after many international publications in the United States, Latin America, Asia and Africa had written a great deal about the impact of our program the power was reduced so low that our listeners inside the U.S. could not hear the broadcast. Some who could hear Radio Free Dixie heard it coming through the station at Santa Clara. The Havana transmission was so weak that sometimes they could not even hear it in Florida. This was direct and deliberate sabotage committed to protect U.S. racism and imperialism from being exposed for its brutal racist crimes against the Afro-American people. It was also done at the instigation of Americans living in Cuba. They were the first to advise that this radio program should be abolished. In order to maintain a false image as supporters of our cause, while at the same time dealing it a crippling blow, Radio Difusion reduced the power of the facilities over which we were broadcasting.

Our publication, The Crusader, had become popular throughout the world and was being used as a manual on armed self-defense by freedom fighters throughout the United States, however, the more popular it became the more difficulty we experienced in getting it printed in Cuba. There was always some excuse about paper, or we had to go through a lot of red tape which would make it impossible to publish some issues while others came out extremely late. We found it impossible to continue publishing under these conditions. We also had the case where some copies of The Crusader were forged and distributed throughout the world. This forged copy was an attack on the Soviet Union and surreptitiously anti-China and was designed to make my exile in Cuba difficult. I reported this to the Party and had hoped that I would get some cooperation to help facilitate my making a public announcement on it or a statement that the October 1965 Special Edition of The Crusader was not published by me and that it was a forged copy not published by friendly forces, but I was unable to get any cooperation from the Party as far as making this public announcement.

In many instances also our mail was held up. It was on some occasions sent back to the United States but the people in the States continued to contact me. Some sent the letters back by people traveling to Cuba to show that the Habana post Office had stamped them return to sender address unknown. On some occasions long distance telephone callers were informed that I was unavailable. This completely severed the lines of communications between my co-workers and me. After the request for my wife to go to Canada and take care of the business there was denied I asked that some

members of our organization and Negro journalists be allowed to visit Cuba. This was also denied. All Negro journalists who applied for visas to enter Cuba were denied visas while white reactionary journalists from the capitalist press were being admitted from all over the world. The Foreign Ministry systematically barred all Negroes, who were coming to confer with me in relation to our struggle, out of Cuba. Some Negro members of our organization, traveling on our money got as far as Prague and were barred from Cuba and were forced to return to the U.S. after their funds were exhausted. This caused us to spend a lot of dollars, dissipating our funds. There were other cases wherein many of our people went to Mexico hoping to come to Cuba to confer with me about the struggle and set up communication lines so that we could coordinate our efforts, but all of this was sabotaged and all of the plans frustrated by officials and functionaries of the Cuban Government especially those in the Foreign Ministry and Commandante Peniero's office. Commandante Peniero's office was one of the main factors in bringing about the frustrating conditions of our struggle, the very man that had been assigned by you to take care of me.

The only official in the Cuban Government who showed any genuine interest in our struggle and who had really promised to help was Commandante Che Guevara. Commandante Guevara called me into his office and told me that he believed that my policy of self-defense was correct and he showed me an editorial in the newspaper Hoy, an editorial in support and praise of Rev. Martin Luther King. He told me that he disagreed with that view and that he had some disagreement with some of the officials of the government and that he was going to help me all that he could. He told me he was going to the interior of Cuba and promised he would return in one month and telephone me as soon as he arrived in the city. However, he stated that while he was gone it would not be necessary to wait the full thirty days for solution of some of the minor problems that I had. He said that Captain Arroxones would take care of my problems while he was away. Later, I discovered that Captain Arroxones was unavailable. After thirty days Commandante Che Guevara failed to return to Havana. So I did not get any help from the Cuban Government and I did not receive attention as far as the problems of my struggle were concerned. My interview with Commandante Che Guevara was one day before the letter that you read from him over radio and television was dated. On the day before that letter was dated he gave me the understanding that he was going into the interior and that he was not leaving the country again, but that he would return to Havana, contact me and give me the needed assistance when he returned. Despite the fact that I had seen Commandante Guevara the day before the letter was dated to you, in which you said that he had gone and joined another revolution, I find this hard to believe after he told me that he was coming back in thirty days and that he had me waiting for him and relying on him.

to give assistance to our struggle. The reason that I bring this up at this time is because I wonder if "Cris" did not meet with foul play in the interior and that may be the same people who contrived his disappearance may be planning to do away with you in the same manner.

During the time of the Tri-Continental Conference, Afro-American journalists tried to come to Cuba to cover the Conference. These journalists also had been to Cairo, they had been accepted there as journalists and were given cooperation there and were able to write about the Afro-Asian Conference and to bring the information back to the Afro-American people. When they tried to enter Cuba they were denied the right to come and they were told that they could not come because they were American journalists, however representatives from the Worker (official organ of the C.P. USA), from a Jewish publication and other white Americans were allowed to come to Cuba as guests of the government and they were admitted to the Tri-Continental Conference. (Also, I was living in Havana at the time and as a representative of the Afro-American people and I was not given an invitation to attend the Tri-Continental Conference. I was barred from the Conference and was only admitted after the question had been raised by some of the delegates from Africa, and only after they had asked why I lived in Havana and I was not inside the Conference halls and that there were others there who did not have as much in common with the peoples of the Conference as I did. Later they were told in the Conference by Captain Osmany Cienfuegos that I had been invited to the Conference but that I had refused to pick up my invitation, that I was refusing to attend and that I was boycotting the Conference. So the Africans came back and told me this and to me that I should come into the Conference and that they had been told that I had an invitation and wouldn't accept it. I told them that this was not true. They then said that they could not see why a man in a high position like Osmany would tell a lie about a little thing like that. I told them if they were so sure I would go with them to see. We went to the Conference headquarters and no credentials had been made out and there was no invitation there for me but this was a scheme to keep all Afro-American revolutionaries and other true revolutionaries out of the conference. The conference was being manipulated especially to keep Afro-Americans out and this was being done by officials of the Cuban Government and not by the conference as a whole. I found this to be incompatible with your policy, the policy that you had always advocated. I know that you have always advocated a policy of racial equality and brotherhood and I do not see how this could have been done with your knowledge.

While in Cuba all of my work for the Afro-American struggle was sabotaged. Some of it was sabotaged by Cuban functionaries who unwittingly were led to carry out sabotage against our struggle by agitators from outside. Some of these people who agitated most against our struggle and against my work in Cuba were Americans who

had been brought there as so-called technicians and advisors who spread all kinds of vicious lies and misled some honest Cuban officials who really thought that these American members of the U.S. Communist Party were beyond reproach. Some of these people are highly suspects as agents of the U.S. Government and the C.I.A. yet they were able to do a very effective job. They were able to completely sabotage and derail our struggle. They were able to do what the racist and imperialist government of the United States was never able to do while I was there and that was to demoralize me and to frustrate my efforts to the point that they were all but ineffective.

Also during the Tri-Continental Conference, one of the persons who was invited there was a fellow who came from Tanzania, Africa named D.H. Mansur. Mansur was invited and was supposed to be a newspaperman working for "Uhuru". He had been to Cuba the previous year. At that time he was traveling in the company of a military delegation and someone introduced to me as the vice-minister of Defence, all from Tanzania. He was housed along with vice-minister and the military delegates in the Cuban protocol house. I did not know him previously but during that visit he was brought to my house by representatives of ICAP along with two men, the vice minister and one of the military officials. Mansur told me at that time that there was a possibility that Tanzania would establish diplomatic relations with Cuba the following year and that he was going to be appointed the ambassador to Havana.

On his second visit, during the Tri-Continental Conference, Mansur stayed at the Hotel Capri and was given special privileges and was able to summon Osmany to the hotel whenever he saw fit. He was also seen and I personally saw him with Commandante Peniero. He told me that since I was having difficulty in Cuba that if I wanted to see anybody in the government, other than Fidel Castro, that he could arrange it for me. He said that Fidel Castro was the only official in the Cuban Government that he could not arrange an interview with for me. He also told me that officials of the Cuban Government were soliciting people to try to smear me and make me look bad and that they were deliberately working against me and that he would advise as a friend that I try to leave Cuba. When I had met Mansur the previous year when he was visiting with the military delegation and the vice minister of Defense of Tanzania he appeared to be a revolutionary person and was supposed to have been working with Cuban officials.

D.H. Mansur told me that he expected to go through New York for some business that he had to take care of in the United Nations soon. I asked him how soon and he replied that he was not sure when but wanted to know why I had asked. I told him that I had something that I wanted to send to the States. He replied that if I had

anything to send that I could send it by the "Chief of Secret Police" of Tanzania who was in Cuba on a secret mission and was supposed to leave within a couple of days. He told me that this chief of the secret police was in Cuba attending the Tri-Continental Conference but that the Cuban government did not know his true identity but that whatever I wanted to send—would be alright to send by him because he would be traveling with diplomatic immunity to the United Nations. I then told him that I may want to send some money to the Negroes in the United States, a personal contribution that I was making to them. He said that he thought that this minister would take it but that he would talk to him first. He later returned and said that the minister would leave in two days and that if I had whatever I wanted to send ready the night before he left that there would be no problem. He said that the man was alright, he had diplomatic immunity and that he was there in Cuba on a secret mission. The night before the "minister" was supposed to leave I brought \$1550 dollars and a letter written in code and gave it to Mansur to be sent to some Afro-American people working in the struggle to help them out. I took the envelop containing the message and the money to the lobby of the Hotel Habana Libre. I gave Mansur the envelop and the money and he went upstairs while I waited in the lobby for his return. He stayed upstairs for about 15 minutes and returned in the company of Commandante Peniero and the man he had pointed out to me as the Chief of the Secret Police of Tanzania. Mansur and Peniero walked to a deserted side of the hotel that led to the cafeteria and talked for three or four minutes, then the two of them passed back through the lobby and went out of the hotel through the door leading to the Polinasia Dining room. Even though he knew I was there waiting for him, he did not return that night. The next day when I saw him, I asked him why did he not return. He said for me not to worry and voluntarily injected that he had not discussed my business with Commandante Peniero because "I know those people don't like you and are working against you, but the 'red beard' is a friend of mine and I went out to talk to him." He said that his friend 'red beard' was the head of the Cuban secret police.

He told me later, after the Tri-Continental Conference that he served as guide and translator for Osmany and other Cubans who were visiting and working in Africa. He also told me that the Cuban Government, in conjunction with the Soviet Government was trying to break relations and wreck the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, because the Cubans, Soviets and East Germans wanted to use Zanzibar as a base to operate in Africa to try to subvert the African governments. He said that there were two factions in the government in Dar es Salaam and that one faction, backed by

Cuba and the Soviets, was working against President Nyerere and they wanted to bring up the union because they felt that Zanzibar would be more useful to them as an independent country.

Mansur also stated to me that the Cuban Government was responsible for a lot of trouble in the Congo, Leopoldville. That they had sent many black Cuban troops there disguised as Congolese and that these black troops fought in the Congo and had a base in Tanzania where they received their food and supplies and often came for rest. He went on to say that the Cuban Government was using these black troops in Africa to engender political influence on behalf of the Soviet Union and that most of these troops were massacred, slaughtered because the imperialists discovered their presence. He claimed that the Cubans and Russians were giving pro-Moscow African leaders weapons to fight against the nationalists, and that instead of fighting against the imperialists that they were fighting against the revolutionary nationalists in the Congo in order to prevent a nationalist revolution that would not have been under the influence and domination of the Soviet Union.

I asked Mansur why he had turned against the Cubans since his last visit and he said it was because he found out that the Cubans were no good after working with them directly through the Embassy of Cuba in Dar es Salaam. He claimed that Cuba had a black Cuban there as ambassador that had to take orders from a white Cuban who was the first secretary and that this proved the Cubans to be racists who did not believe in equality of the black man but were using black puppets to further their own political interests, and those of the Soviet Union. I asked him why he had come to Cuba and he said that the Party had brought him there to work as an adviser on African affairs and to set up broadcasts to Africa in Swahili over Radio Havana. He started the broadcasts and often laughed about it afterwards because no one in Radio Havana understood what he was broadcasting in Swahili. I discovered him to be very reactionary and he laughed about the bad conditions he created in Radio Havana and how he had alienated and antagonized a lot of the workers there. He told me that the director of Radio Havana asked him what could Cuba do to counteract the Chinese influence in Africa and that he should work for them in trying to do so.

Mansur, while living in the Hotel Capri, created a lot of friction between himself and the Cuban workers. He struck a Cuban waiter with his fist in the Capri dining room because the waiter did not serve him "fast enough" and then had the Party make the victim apologize to him! He was extremely rude with the workers. He demanded that the director of the Hotel Capri secure a prostitute for him. When he was informed that prostitution had been abolished in Cuba by the Revolutionary Government, he told the director that that was a lie and that most any Cuban woman on the street would sleep with him for money. He then called officials of the Party and told them that he wanted one of the chorus girls working in the show at the Club in the Capri. The officials of the Party forced an unwilling show girl to submit to his demands for a prostitute in order to pacify him.

I told Mansur that I had never known a guest of Cuba to come there before and get away with such shameful conduct and abuse and I asked him how could he get away with such action. He replied that he had information on officials of the Cuban Government and the subversive activity that they were carrying on in Africa and that they dared not bother him. He ostentatiously went into the hotel bar and invited many people to drink with him and told them to drink all they wanted because it was free and being paid for by the Cuban Government.

While Mansur was using these threats to divulge this so-called secret information, to intimidate high officials of the Cuban party, he boasted that this information had already been sold to Finnish television men who were then visiting Cuba and that in the future it was going to be published under a pseudonym.

After one week of observing Mansur's reactionary conduct, I became apprehensive of his trustworthiness and called New York and discovered that neither the money nor the letter had arrived there. I went back to D.H. Mansur to ask him about the "Chief of the Secret Police" who was supposed to have taken the money and communique to New York. He said that if the message and money had not arrived yet that may be the man did not go directly to New York, and that maybe he went first to some other place, or maybe he stopped over in Mexico. I said well maybe that was possible. I waited another week and called New York again to find out that no such person had come to the Tanzanian Mission to the United Nations, so I went back again to D. H. Mansur. He then said that he had to personally go to Tanzania himself to get the money because he did not want anyone to think he was a thief. In the meantime becoming more suspicious of Mansur, I sent cables off to Minister "Babu", with whom I was acquainted and to President Nyerere. Minister "Babu" responded immediately replying that Mansur did not represent the Government of Tanzania and that he had no official position in the Government of Tanzania. When I went to Mansur and faced him again he broke down and started crying, begging for me to please shoot him. He promised that he would get the money back and that he would even get the Cuban Party to pay it back. He begged me not to involve his government and his president in this matter because the Government of Tanzania may kill his family or put them all in prison and kill him

or put him in prison. I told him that all I wanted was the money and the message back, that this money was supposed to go to our people in New York and that we had sent a secret coded message and I wanted to know what he had done with the communique. He then said that it was possible that he gave the money and the communique to a Cuban official. I then said to him that in that case there would be no problem because if he gave it to a Cuban official that we would be able to get it back because I thought they would cooperate with me. He then stated that he did not think we could get it back because the Cuban official that he gave it to may have been working with the CIA. I kept insisting that I wanted the money back and the message and he continued crying and then suggested that I go together with him to the British Reuters news service and the Associated Press office in Havana and that he would write a confession in the presence of the agents there saying that he had received the money from me and that the money had been lost and that he would be responsible for making restitution. I asked him why did he want to go to the British and Americans who were our enemies and the enemies of his country, especially since his president had denounced the activity of the A.P. there in Tanzania as a subversive counterrevolutionary agency working against the government. He said that President Nyerere only denounced one correspondent of the A.P. and that the reason he wanted to go there and get them involved was because he was working with the two news services and that this would be a form of collateral or assurance for the money. I then asked how could he be a loyal supporter of his government and his president while working for the British and American news agencies.

His sinister manoeuver was obvious. The fact was that the coded message, sent along with the money, was signed by a code name and the person to receive it was also designated by a code name. Legally there was no evidence to connect Afro-American freedom fighters with Cuba or with me. It was obvious that Mansur and other agents had devised a conspiracy to create a state of hysteria and journalistic sensationalism by attempting to link U.S. civil rights forces with foreign interests and portray me as an intermediary of foreign intrigue and subversion.

Mansur had told me that Cuban Government officials were plotting to get rid of me and that I should not rule out the possibility that they would readily murder me and



that, though I may doubt that they were capable of this, he could assure me that they were capable of this because he worked for and had close contact with them. He said that they were soliciting others, including himself, in their malicious campaign to discredit and silence me. Obviously he assumed after telling me all this that I was sufficiently against the Cuban Revolution to the extent that he could afford to admit to me that he was working for the British and Americans.

When the African students studying in Havana, who were also friends of Mansur, were informed that Mansur had stolen money entrusted to him for the Afro-American movement, they confronted him as a delegation to investigate the veracity of the charges. Mansur confessed to them that he had had the money but not being aware of its source of origin he became frightened at the amount and had turned it over to the Cuban authorities.

An african woman freedom fighter, wife of a diplomat, reported to me that Mansur had approached her and some of her Cuban friends and tried to bribe them into taking him to places where he claimed he had heard from foreign sources that Lesbian women frequented. She said he told them that he had plenty of money, ostentatiously flaunted Cuban bills in 50 peso denominations, and said he would pay them if they would take him where he could take pictures showing this type of life in Cuba. These women were shocked and became highly suspicious of his mission in Cuba. Mansur had told me that he had forced African freedom fighters from Angola out of Dar es Salaam by publishing photographs he had taken of them in undesirable places enjoying night life. It was more than obvious that he was seeking pictures of African freedom fighters that he could use to compromise and blackmail them on the continent.

After I began to question Mansur more about the money and the coded message and discovered all of these things about him I found that he had suddenly requested permission to leave the country even though he was supposed to remain there another month to set up the Swahili broadcasts and to await the arrival of two other Tanzanians to take over from him. Despite the fact that his services were supposedly indispensable to Radio Havana, he was hurriedly sent on a trip to the interior of Cuba by party officials. When I discovered that he was back and planning to leave right away, I called Commandante Vallejo.

During the interim, I had talked to a Congolese woman freedom fighter who was in search of Mansur whom she thought to be a true African brother and revolutionary, to give him confidential information and organizational communiques to be taken by him to Dar es Salaam to be sent to revolutionary forces inside the Congo. In order to prevent her from be-

coming another victim of D.H. Mansur, I related to her what he had done about our message and money that were sent to our friends in the United States and disclosed to her the secrets that Mansur was openly telling about the Congo. She became horrified and after a long discussion on the matter, the Congolese revolutionary stated that they had been trying to ascertain how the imperialist forces obtained information about their movement and the arrival of black Cuban soldiers in the Congo. She said that Mansur represented the missing link that they had been searching for, and that it was now obvious to her that he was the man who had caused many revolutionaries to be massacred and their campaign to be frustrated. I immediately called Commandante Vallejo again and asked for an urgent emergency conference.

Commandante Vallejo came to my house and I told him that I had talked with the Congolese freedom fighter and that we were both convinced that Mansur was an agent of the imperialists and was the one responsible for the massacre of Congolese and Cuban revolutionaries in the Congo by revealing secrets to the imperialists. I showed him the cable from Minister Babu of the Tanzanian Government. I discussed all of the afore mentioned facts, at length and asked him to report this directly to you, Fidel. I also asked Commandante Vallejo to prevent Mansur from leaving Cuba until he could be questioned more by me and the Cuban officials about the theft of the money, my missing communique and his direct connections with the A.P., Reuters, officials of the Cuban Communist Party and the circle of Finnish television men, whose woman informer claimed to be an intimate girl friend of yours, Fidel. Commandante Vallejo informed me that the matter would be investigated and that he would take it directly to Fidel.

He left hurriedly. The following night at 12:30 A.M. two men from G-2 came to my house. In a belligerent manner they demanded that I tell them what I had told Commandante Vallejo. I inquired as to what office they were from and they said Commandante Peniero's office. I told them to tell Commandante Peniero that I did not deal with crooks and that anything I had to say I would tell to Fidel. One of the men stated that they did not have to stay there and listen to my insult and that Mansur was a "good revolutionary friend of Cuba" who only "talked too much." As the two security men left my house, one was heard to say that Williams had better "watch out." It was obvious that Vallejo, who had

been appointed by you personally to aid me with my problems was not reporting my problems and informing to you but instead was turning my complaints over to the same man that I was complaining against for sabotaging our struggle or allowing it to be sabotaged by his subordinates. After I revealed that I had become convinced that Commandante Peniero and Captain Osmany were working with subversive elements and shielding agents of the U.S. and British imperialists I was unable to make contact with Commandante Vallejo again. He refused to see me and refused to relay my messages to you. I was unable to see any responsible official in the Cuban Government and D.H. Mansur was sped out of the country by official representatives of the Cuban Government. I continuously sent telegrams, made telephone calls and requests to talk to you, Fidel. I also called President Dorticos' office and the office of Dra. Celia Sanchez seeking an audience that I was never granted. I could only see the same people from Peniero's office who had all along been instrumental in helping to sabotage my work in Cuba. I was only granted audiences with petty functionaries from Peniero's office who displayed an attitude of indifference and laughed at the whole affair as if it were some comedy, but this was a serious matter to our struggle and it should have been a serious matter to Cuba, because I could not understand how a government or an official of a government like Vallejo, Peniero or Osmany could see Cuban soldiers, even if they were black, wiped out, slaughtered and massacred in the Congo and here was the man who was responsible for it right there in Cuba and they refused to apprehend him or to even take him into custody and question him. Here was a man whose pretentious masquerade as a representative of his government had been officially unmasked and they refused to do anything about it. Here was a man who had stolen \$1550 dollars from a struggle that Cuba claimed to be supporting and they refused to bring this thief in, even for questioning, which meant that he, as well as other pirates, as well as Cuban pirates, had the right to practice piracy against our liberation struggle. He had impunity granted him under the power and authority of the Cuban Government. So the fact was that even though this man was a thief, it made no difference, he was an honored guest who among other things had stolen from the Afro-American struggle which these officials of Cuba were opposed to and to which they had been in opposition all along and had done everything they could to sabotage. One of the main characters in this sabotage was Commandante Peniero. We expected more consideration from Commandante Vallejo but we found him to be working hand in glove with Commandante Peniero and Captain Osmany.

I think it also important to note that much of the secret organizational information that I had filed with Commandante Peniero's office was later cynically cited to me by an official of one of the so-called free world embassies in Havana. It was also positively obvious that through Commandante Peniero and

Commandante Vallejo a flippantly promised a north American woman was transmitting all confidential matters related to her by them pertaining to my activities to this same so-called free world embassy.

I had had much more difficulty before then. I had been invited to Sweden on a speaking tour and I had asked for permission to leave Cuba but permission was never granted, no cooperation was given me whatever. Finally, the people working with the Party had begun to do all manner of things to handicap and hinder our struggle and their actions were beginning to become antagonistic whenever I had contact with them. During my last months in Cuba, hostility toward me by members of the Party became very intense. They displayed much resentment toward the fact that I was receiving a small stipend in Pesos as the government's support of me and my activities in behalf of the Afro-American struggle. Due to the fact that this stipend was used to make me appear a part of the new class of those enjoying the dulce vida in Cuba, while at the same time piratical Party officials were robbing us of the direct material support received from the revolutionary people of the United States and deliberately and viciously sabotaging all our efforts in our struggle, I refused to continue accepting this stipend from the Party.

Despite the fact that I had evidence that D.H. Mansur was a thief, a charlatan, an unprincipled counterrevolutionary and an admitted agent of the imperialist forces, and I had personally found him to be unscrupulous, anti-socialist, anti-Nyerere and an outright bandit of the worse sort, functionaries of the Party and of Commandante Peniero's office insisted that he was an "honest man", a "revolutionary" and a guest of the Cuban Government who just "talked too much." From Mansur's point of view he felt safe and secure in the fact that he had connections with officials high in the Cuban Government. He suggested to me that if I wanted aid, any special favor or permission to leave Cuba that I had better direct my efforts more toward Captain Osmany Cienfuegos because his power was on the rise and Fidel's was on the decline and it would be only a matter of time before Fidel would be completely powerless.

I can't believe that Osmany, Peniero and Vallejo, I do not believe that they have accurately, truly and faithfully informed you of what was and is transpiring because I can not conceive of your being aware of this matter and of all of these things that were going on, not only against our struggle but also against the Cuban Revolution, and the Cuban people and remain indifferent.

I write you this correspondence now because of my support of the Cuban people and the Cuban Revolution. As desperately.

38

as the 1550 dollars are needed by impoverished Afro-American freedom fighters; I know that it is now an irretrievable loss and that those racist officials of the Cuban Government, who so effectively sabotaged our struggle were glad that we lost the money and they deem it a great victory for whatever cause they serve. The only ones who could possibly profit from this are those who work for the CIA and U.S. imperialism.

I deem it my revolutionary duty to bring these facts to your attention. I want to be sure that you know this because I also see in this a conspiracy against the Cuban Revolution and yourself and I am convinced that if you are, and remain, unaware of these corrupt and sinister machinations taking place around you, you will soon be in the same predicament as Nkrumah, Ben Bella or Sukarno and the Cuban Revolution will be subverted and destroyed from within.

I think that you owe it to the cause of the Cuban Revolution and to revolutionaries throughout the world and especially to the revolutionaries in Latin America and the western hemisphere to let us know if these reactionary scoundrels of your government were acting in accordance with your concept of revolutionary conduct as a part of your ruling clique or whether they were usurpers engaged in unscrupulous subversive activities contrary to your beliefs and ideas.

Again I say that I support the Cuban Revolution and I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship that the Cuban people have shown me. I hope that these demoralizing and agonizing experiences do not indicate a new fascist tendency on the part of the Cuban Revolution. The only complaint that I make to you is on behalf of my people, the Afro-American people who are engaged in a struggle for survival, liberation, equality and freedom inside the USA. I make this complaint to you because of the fact that your government has allowed saboteurs to sabotage our struggle and have set us back for a number of years and have allowed them to frustrate and demoralize our people in our struggle against our oppressive enemy. I also make this complaint as a revolutionary obligation to the Cuban people themselves who have sacrificed their lives, their blood and their loved ones and gone to great lengths to promote the Cuban Revolution and to make it a living reality. I think that I owe it to them that I bring this matter to your attention so that you may deal personally with it or place it into the hands of the people so that they may know about the characters and personalities of these persons who are supposed to be leaders of the Cuban Revolution, people like Comandante Vallejo, Peniero and Osmany.

They should know the caliber of these men who represent them before the world, these men who are either outright thieves and crooks themselves or who keep company with and give aid and comfort to crooks who are enemies of the Cuban people and revolutionaries throughout the world.

Personally my stay in Cuba turned out quite well and my stay in Cuba as far as my relationship with the Cuban people was quite enjoyable, but I deeply resent the fact that a revolutionary government that came to power through revolution would sink to the level that it would give aid and comfort to imperialist agents, thieves and pirates who practice piracy against freedom movements, freedom fighters and those struggling for liberty and equality.

There are many other things that I feel should be brought out, things I should say to you but I am not sure that this correspondence will reach you, but if it is impossible to reach you this way, I feel that it is my revolutionary duty to reach you in whatever manner I possibly can, even if it must be through the mass media of the world.

I am doing this completely on my own initiative. I have not discussed this with any other official or individual nor with members or officials of my organization inside the United States. This is a personal matter that I am taking upon myself and I assume full responsibility. I feel that this is my duty because I feel a personal obligation, a personal duty and a personal loyalty to the Cuban Revolution and the Cuban people and I hope that I will be more fortunate in reaching you than I was in the more than four years that I resided in Cuba.

I hope at least this time you will feel that what I have to say is important enough for a personal response and I hope you will not commit this very important and serious matter to the hands of the same racist, degenerate, counter-revolutionary agents of U.S. imperialism who are responsible for frustrating and subverting that part of the Afro-American freedom struggle that was being conducted from the revolutionary territory of Cuba.

Revolutionarily yours,

Robert F. Williams

48

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 9/30/69

Re Los Angeles letter to the Bureau 9/18/69  
and Los Angeles letter to the Bureau 9/24/69.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN  
EFFECT AGAINST THE BPP

Members of the BPP continue to be interviewed in the belief that this program has caused, and will continue to cause, concern and disruption among the members of the BPP.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

The counterintelligence operations proposed in re communications are being held in abeyance pending Bureau decision.

All arrests of members of the BPP continue to be followed, looking for violations of the anti-riot and gun control laws to determine if any of these individuals might be prosecuted under Federal and State law.

Logical sporting goods stores and firearms outlets have been contacted and liaison is being maintained in an attempt to determine which members of the BPP are buying firearms.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Los Angeles

(4)

EX-102  
REC-62

1 OCT 2 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

7 OCT 8 - 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

41

LA 157-4054

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OBTAINED

Sources have reported no overt reaction due to operations now in effect in the Los Angeles area. It should be noted, however, that a severe split has occurred between the leaders of the Los Angeles BPP and it is believed that the continuous interviewing of present and past BPP members has helped create this gulf. Attempts will be continued to widen this gulf.



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Newark (100-49654)

10/2/69

REQ 17

EX-106

Director, FBI (100-448006) 1326

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReNKlet 9/18/69.

Authority is granted Newark to mail the cartoon submitted in referenced letter. The cartoon, which was drawn by the Newark Office, is satisfactory and needs no duplication. In reproducing this cartoon, Newark should insure that the paper and envelopes used do not contain any traceable markings. When mailing this cartoon, care should be taken so that the Bureau is not disclosed as the source and strict security is maintained. Newark should advise of any results received from this mailing.

[REDACTED] (4)

## NOTE:

Newark has proposed the mailing of a cartoon ridiculing members of the black racist organization known as US. The cartoon is of a pig and recognizable of BPP art. Newark wishes to anonymously mail copies of this cartoon to about 15 BPP members in the Newark area in an effort to build up resentment between the panthers and US. The cartoon is designed to appear as if members of US had created same. It states that US represents the "people" instead of the BPP. Newark requested that the Bureau Laboratory reproduce this cartoon in a crude manner. We are instructing Newark to utilize its own cartoon as it meets the needs and reproduction by the Laboratory is unnecessary in this instance.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "P", "Wings", "H", "J", "J"]*

MAILED 8

OCT 2 1969

COMM-FBI

5 1969

ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

43

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/18/69

FROM : *frb/* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Enclosed are original and three xerox copies of a drawing prepared by Newark, utilizing the basic cartoon which appeared in a recent issue of the BPP paper, vilifying President NIXON's mother.

Newark proposes sending it to about 15 BPP members and sympathizers in Jersey City, to embarrass [REDACTED] and the Jersey City BPP in general. Also it is hoped resentment can be built up between the panthers and KARENGA's "US" organization and LE ROI JONES' organization in Newark.

The Bureau is requested to have the laboratory duplicate the enclosed in a cheap looking manner, protecting the Bureau as its originator.

Newark will exercise full caution in mailing the cartoon, so as to protect the Bureau's interest, and will notify the Bureau of any tangible results.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
2 - Newark  
(1 - 100-49194) (BPP)

(4)

REC 12 EX-103

100 448006 133

1 SEP 18 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

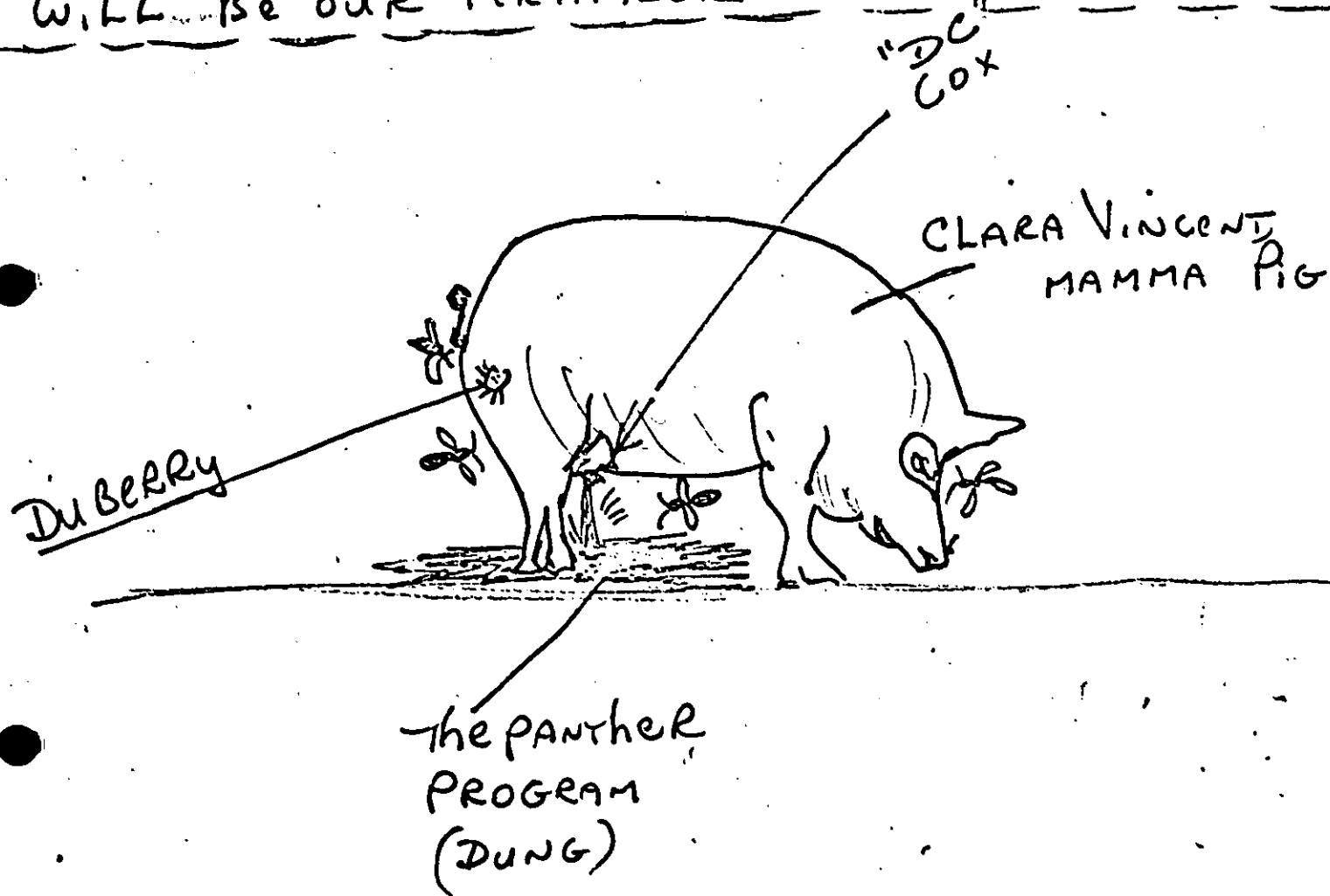


5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

44

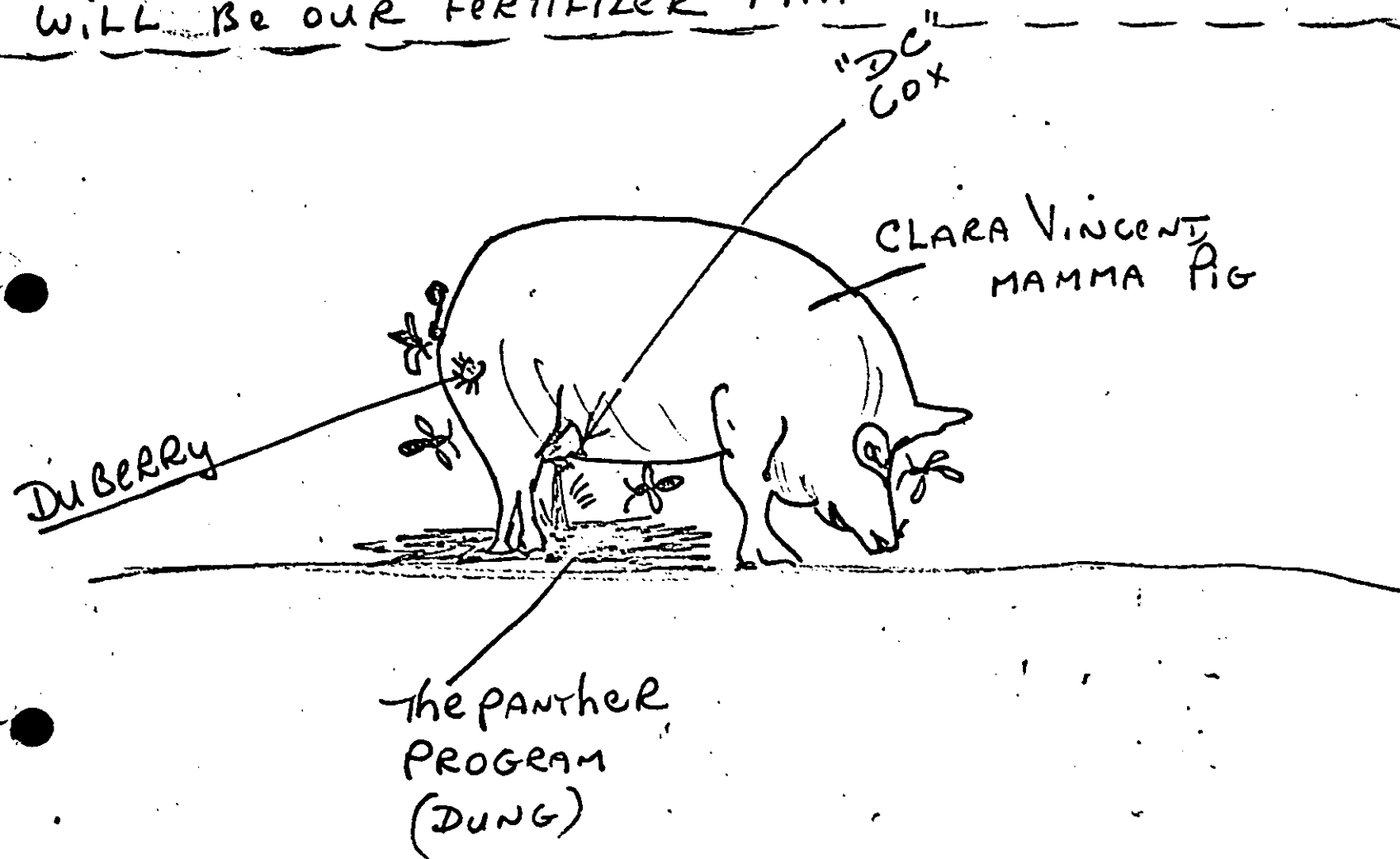
TON KATKENG T KATKENG JONES  
CHAMPIONS OF THE BROTHERS & SISTERS. THE PANTHERS  
WILL BE OUR FERTILIZER MAKERS.



THIS IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE PANTHER INTELLIGENCE  
YONE WITH EVEN BASIC INTELLIGENCE IS LEAVING.

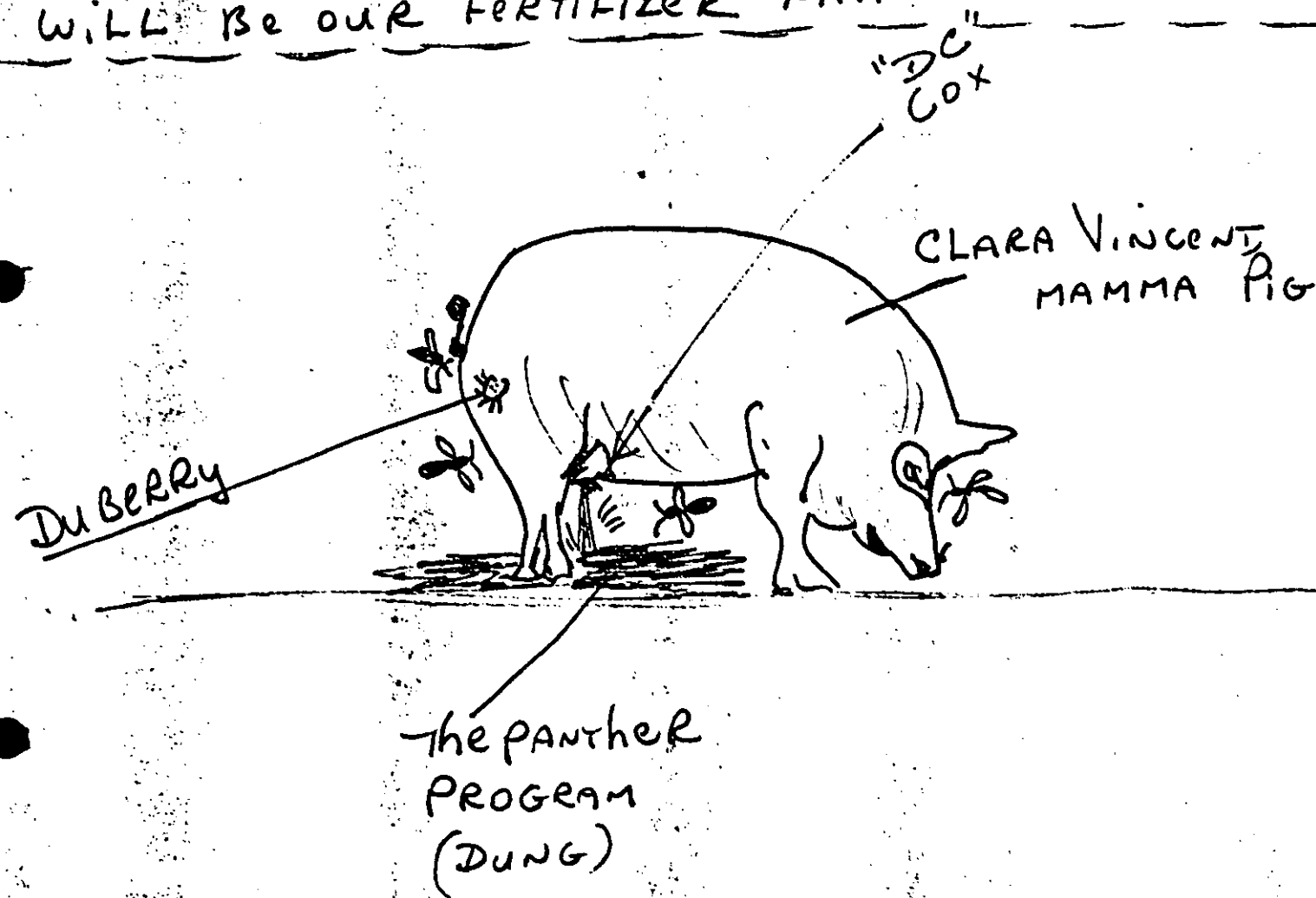


NON NAKENGI  
CHAMPIONS OF THE BROTHERS & SISTERS. THE PANTHERS  
WILL BE OUR FERTILIZER MAKERS.



THIS IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE PANTHER INTELLIGENCE  
ANYONE WITH EVEN BASIC INTELLIGENCE IS LEAVING.

RON KARENGA + KERO, JONES ARE THE TRUE  
CHAMPIONS OF THE BROTHERS + SISTERS. THE PANTHERS  
WILL BE OUR FERTILIZER MAKERS.



THIS IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE PANTHER INTELLIGENCE -  
ANYONE WITH EVEN BASIC INTELLIGENCE IS LEAVING.

SAC, Milwaukee (157-459)

9/30/69

EX-106 REC-89

Director, FBI (100-448006) — 1300

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

*bdm*  
*TPB*

ReMilairtel 9/22/69.

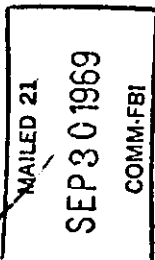
Permission is granted to anonymously mail the article mentioned in referenced airtel to the Chief Administrators of the University of Wisconsin. Strict security must be maintained and the Bureau not identified as the source of this mailing. The note which should accompany the article should refer to Maurice Zeitlin as an employee of the University. Advise the Bureau of the results of this mailing.

(4) [REDACTED]  
 : NOTE.

Milwaukee has furnished information indicating that Maurice Zeitlin, an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, is listed as a sponsor of the "International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver." Cleaver is a BPP leader who has fled from the U. S. to avoid trial. Milwaukee is recommending that this information be anonymously furnished to officials at the University of Wisconsin. We are authorizing this anonymous mailing. It is extremely important that followers of this notorious black nationalist group are exposed especially if they are in the education field.

*wys* *Don*  
*9/30/69*  
*OC 7/18*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



20 OCT 9 - 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

49

one way or the other to the...  
 lication of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing support-  
 either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the  
 ort indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but  
 hing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether  
 aever knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140,

**Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied  
 opportunity to present his case.**

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if document-  
 evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer  
 at question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the  
 ight to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same  
 ne, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the oppor-  
 nity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

Parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a  
 hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the  
 parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an op-  
 portunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not  
 have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make  
 decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also  
 es to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its  
 able definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and  
 gueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to  
 blish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the  
 Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to  
 be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks  
 to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court,  
 p. 17)

the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was  
 an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from  
 these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme  
 Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the  
 case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obvious-  
 ly have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that  
 thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and  
 other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of  
 the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just  
 couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecu-  
 tion. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated  
 that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status  
 stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue em-  
 phasis in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

ST. FRANCISCO  
 (partial listing)  
 WRITERS  
 Bertrand Russell  
 James Baldwin  
 Murray Kempton  
 Allen Ginsberg  
 Herbert Gold  
 Kay Boyle  
 Oscar Lewis  
 Terry Southern  
 Norman Mailer  
 LeRoi Jones  
 Lawrence Ferlinghetti  
 Andrew Kopkind  
 Dwight MacDonld  
 Donald Duncan  
 Barbara Garson  
 Maxwell Geismar  
 John Gerassi  
 John Gunther  
 Paul Jacobs  
 Jessica Mitford  
 Richard Gilman  
 Julius Lester  
 Robert Crichton  
 D.W. Dupee  
 Edgar Friedenberg  
 Marcus Raskin  
 W.H. Ferry  
 Jack Newfield  
 Nat Henthoff  
 Susan Sontag  
 Robert Lowell  
 Jane Jacobs  
 Hortense Calisher  
 Harvey O'Connor  
 Truman Nelson  
 Charles V. Hamilton  
 Stanley Kunitz  
 Stanley Kaufman

Emile Capouya  
 Tania de Gamier  
 Muriel Rukeyser  
 Arthur Waskow  
 Carlos Monsivais  
 George Hitchcock  
 Tillie Olsen  
 Jean Paul Sartre  
 Mrs. Richard Wright  
 Christine Rochefort  
 Julia Wright Herve  
 Daniel Guerin  
 Yves Loyer  
 Gerard Chaliand  
 Mourad Hourbeune  
 J. Semprun  
 Juliette Minces  
 David Welsh  
 THEATRE, FILMS, ARTS  
 Godfrey Cambridge  
 Jules Feiffer  
 Ossie Davis  
 Malvina Reynolds  
 Ruby Dee  
 Shirley Clarke  
 Saul Landau  
 Ed Bullins  
 Gil Turner  
 Open Theatre  
 Elsa Knight Thompson  
 John Carpenter  
 Robert Brustein  
 Richard Schechner  
 Saul Gottlieb  
 Delphine Seyrig  
 Roger Pic  
 Dugald Stermer  
 R.G. Davis

Jim Lennon  
 Sidney Levis  
 PROFESSORS  
 Hans Lojungsberger  
 Ashley Montagu  
 Conos Cruise O'Brien  
 Douglas F. Doud  
 D.F. Fleming  
 C. Ward Savage  
 Donald Kish  
 Howard S. Becker  
 Maurice Zeitlin  
 Sidney M. Peck  
 Noam Chomsky  
 Richard Lichtman  
 J.B. Neillands  
 Montgomery Furth  
 Willem Lindner  
 Stephen Smale  
 Donald B. McLeod  
 Cyril Epstein  
 Roger Dittmann  
 A.C. Bierman  
 O. Pevault d'Almones  
 Madeleine Riberoux  
 Laurent Schwartz  
 A. Soloul  
 Staughton Lynd  
 MUSIC  
 David Amram  
 POLITICS  
 Ricies Lopez Tijerina  
 Jesse Gray  
 Floyd McKissick  
 James Forman  
 Julian Bond  
 Tom Hayden

Dennis Berger  
 Joby Fanon  
 Mrs. Betty Mahabaz  
 Stokely Carmichael  
 Carl Oglesby  
 ATTORNEYS  
 Hans Niet  
 Len Holt  
 Mal Burnstein  
 Paul H...  
 Sherwin A. Shayne  
 Eugene Deikman  
 M. Laine-Veon  
 M.R. Plasson Stible  
 Cicely Holmi  
 John Thorne  
 PHYSICIANS  
 Oscar Rando, M.D.  
 Philip Shapiro, M.D.  
 Carlton Goodlett, M.D.  
 Robert E. Greenberg, M.D.  
 EDITORS  
 Angus Cameron  
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 Aaron Asher  
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 Marilyn Mecker  
 Leo Huberman  
 Carty McWilliams  
 Robert Silvers  
 John J. Simon  
 Theodore Solotaroff  
 POLITICAL PRISONERS  
 HUEY NEWTON

## INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend El-  
 dridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee  
 to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's  
 campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

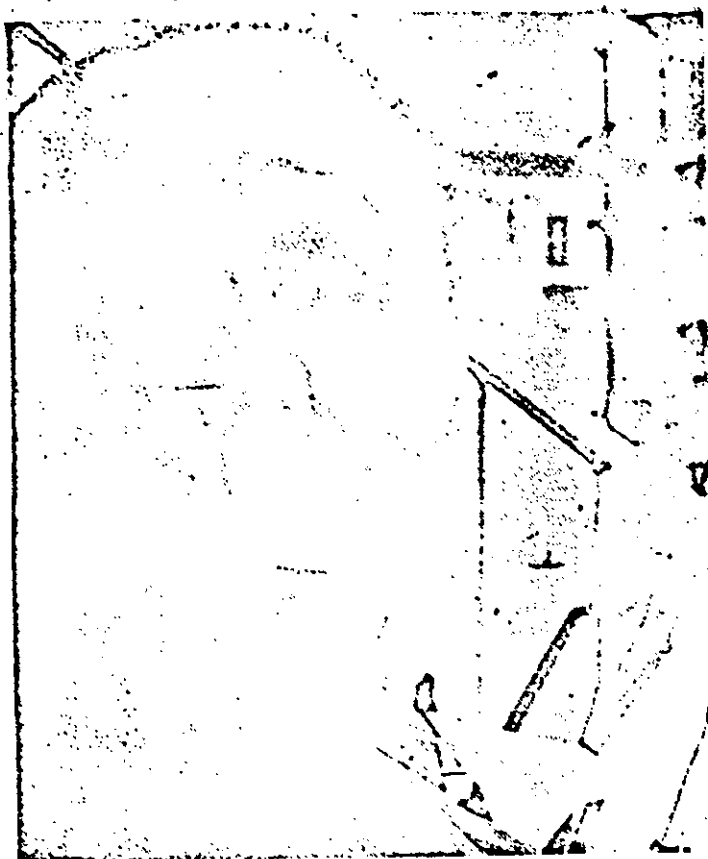
Profession \_\_\_\_\_ Organization or Title \_\_\_\_\_

ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

ENCLOSURE





# SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he had been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in defense of justice. If Cleaver is not allowed to speak out politically in defense of justice, then we are all in danger of being silenced.

F B I

Date: 9/24/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COINTELPRO BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

Re WFO airtel 9/19/69.

At a meeting of the Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, held the evening of 9/22/69; [redacted] advised it was announced that the Steering Committee of the NMC had contacted [redacted] BUF member and civil rights activist and asked him to speak at the rally planned for WDC on 11/15/69.

According to [redacted] expressed his willingness to speak, but stated he was aware of the demands made by the BUF on the NMC and would not speak, allow his name to be used, or sit on the platform if any collection was taken up at the rally. The Steering Committee voted to accept [redacted] terms and have also secured the appearance of Mrs. CORETTA KING at the rally. The NMC now believes that the BUF will be most reluctant to cause any trouble.

The Steering Committee will advise [redacted] by letter, with copy sent to [redacted], stating no collection will be taken up, but stating a rock and roll concert will be held and the BUF will be given a part of the profit

② Bureau  
3-WFO

(1-157-1426) (BUF)  
(1-100-46171) (NMC)

REC-73

EX-106

14 SEP 25 1969

59 OCT 5 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

52

from the concert.

WFO is of the opinion that a carefully prepared and properly worded news release passed on to reporters or columnists known to be friendly to the Bureau could result in acute embarrassment to [REDACTED] and cause internal dissention within the ranks of the BUF.

In this connection the article could be worded as coming from a leader of the black community, holding a high office in the BUF who leaked the story to the news media and who accuses [REDACTED] of revealing his true colors as an "Uncle Tom" who has sold out the interests of the black community to white intellectuals and white radicals and thus exposed his friends to a violent confrontation with the police, should disorders such as took place after Resurrection City happen during the course of the peace march.

The article should be so written that the "BUF Official" expresses his dismay that [REDACTED] would place his political future and personal gain before his black brothers, and allude that [REDACTED] may not be the best possible candidate for the D. C. School Board.

If the Bureau is of the opinion that such a counter-intelligence project, calculated to tarnish the image of [REDACTED] and create internal dissention within the ranks of the BUF is desirable, WFO is prepared to forward such a release, or if the Bureau so desires, the release can be prepared at the Seat of Government.

No counterintelligence action will be initiated without prior Bureau approval.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/29/69

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALISTS  
HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

BI-WEEKLY LETTER  
PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AGAINST BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY CHAPTER, KANSAS CITY, MO.

Re Kansas City letter to the Bureau, 9/15/69

No new developments of interest as to current  
potential targets for counterintelligence action have  
appeared in the past two weeks.

104-106  
2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Kansas City

(4)

EX-114

REC-41

10 OCT 1 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

836  
54

57 OCT 8 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921) (P\*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(VISUAL AIDS)

DATE: 9/29/69

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 4/24/69.

Enclosed herewith are 46 photographs taken in connection with the riot in Columbus, Ohio, on 7/21/69. These photographs were furnished by [REDACTED] as being representative of the many photographs [REDACTED]

These photographs may be used within the Bureau, however, if any are published or furnished outside the Bureau, permission must be obtained on an individual basis and credit line must be used.

The Cincinnati Division will continue to be alert for any such visual aids and will furnish same on a continuing basis.

2-1-806  
2-Bureau (Enc. 46) (RM)  
1-Cincinnati

ENCLOSURE  
ENC. BEHIND FILE

(3)

REC-42  
EX-106  
100 448006-1322

10 OCT 2 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 OCT 8 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 9/29/69

Enclosed for the Bureau and Chicago is one copy each of photostats of a documentation showing the past connections of CHARLES GARRY with the Communist Party (CP) and a photostat of an interview of GARRY and WILLIAM PATTERSON of the CP that appeared in 7/5/69 edition of "The Black Panther".

CHARLES GARRY, an attorney of San Francisco, Calif., often represents BPP members in Court and presently plans on assuming the position of counsel for BOBBY SEALE at the Chicago trial of the eight individuals indicted under ARL Statutes. GARRY was hospitalized over the last weekend but hoped to be at the trial in about ten days.

GARRY becomes incensed when his connections with the CP are publicized.

Chicago, if possible, should request Bureau authority to furnish this material to a cooperative news source or give consideration to asking permission to mail the material anonymously to a Chicago news source who might utilize it in a column.

ENCLOSURE

REC 67

EX-103

15 OCT 1 1969

- 2 - Bureau (Enc.1) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (Enc.1) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco  
(2 - 157-601)  
(1 - 100-26685) (Charles Garry)

(7)

INTE-SPE.  
RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-02

OCT 22 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

56

CHARLES R. GARRY

Page 1165 of Report on Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, First Session of Eighty-fifth Congress held in San Francisco, California, June 18-21, 1957, contained testimony of Dr. Jack Patten, former Educational Director of the Professional Section of the Communist Party (CP) in San Francisco which identified Charles Garry as a CP member of the legal profession in San Francisco.

Page 1290 of this report contains testimony of Mrs. Dorothy Jeffers who was a former Treasurer of a Professional Section of the CP in San Francisco. Mrs. Jeffers identified Charles Garry as a member of the Professional Section of the CP and his wife Louise Garry as a CP member.

Pages 1301-1314 of this report contains testimony of Charles Garry wherein he refused to answer questions regarding the Professional Section of the CP.

Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities to the 1959 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento, 1959, on Pages 133 and 134 contains the following:

"Charles R. Garry, also identified as a member of the Communist Party, has been practicing law in San Francisco since about 1938. He has represented the Civil Rights Congress, the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, has been affiliated with a wide variety of Communist fronts, has acted as counsel for a number of Communist-dominated unions, and has, in short, followed the general pattern of activity that runs like a common denominator through the careers of the other lawyers in this State who have been identified as party members. He, of course, belongs to the National Lawyers Guild, having joined it immediately upon being admitted to the Bar, has served as its executive board member in San Francisco, as President of the San Francisco Chapter, as a delegate to its national convention, and a member of its national executive board.

ENCLOSURE

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"In 1948, Mr. Garry was a candidate for election to the House of Representatives from the Fifth Congressional District on the Independent Progressive Party ticket. It will be recalled that this organization was described in the first section of this report, and was headed state-wide by Mr. Hugh Bryson, former president of the Marine Cooks & Stewards Union.

"Mr. Garry has, like his comrades in the legal profession, sent numerous petitions to the United States Supreme Court in an effort to influence its decisions. Obviously, all of these petitions sought to mold the court's opinions in consonance with the Communist Party line, and while some of the other Communist lawyers sent an occasional petition, Mr. Garry's have been especially numerous and vehement. He has taught in the Communist school in San Francisco, has also been quite active in the International Workers Order, a sort of Communist insurance concern operated on a nationwide basis which attracted a great many racial minority groups. This organization, though now defunct, was an extremely rich and potent organization. While it was being suspended from operating in California because of its subversive nature, and pending a revocation of its certificate of operation, its entire file was stolen from the office of the California Insurance Commission, and so far as we know it has never been recovered."



# WILLIAM PATTERSON AND CHARLES GARRY

This is an interview by David P. ... and Donny ... of Charles R. Garry, Black Panther Party Attorney, and a very close brother, a revelation ... other, William Patterson, Defense attorney for the Scottsboro Case, he's been in the struggle for quite a few years. And the first question that I would like to ask them for their response - I would like to ask both of you this question - What do you think about the upcoming conference to be held here in Oakland, California, for a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA?

ATTORNEY GARRY: I will give you my opinion, I'm Charles Garry, as to the need and the necessity for a get together of all people who are against oppression and ... The answer is, that if we don't do it, if this is not done and it's not done immediately, the same things that happened in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, and fascist Japan, and fascist South Africa are going to happen here. This may be our last opportunity to be able to get together and to fill men and women of good will throughout the United States - the dangers of what fascism is. I don't think that the people of the United States really understand what fascism is. I think they believe that this is something foreign, they believe that this is something that exists outside the United States. We've got to tell them that although we fought fascism in Europe, that we permitted for hundreds of years, fascism to prevail in the black and colored black community. Now it's going beyond that, it's becoming more diabolic in our present day function. We have every reason to believe that the Black Panther Party is being persecuted by the United States Government more radically and more viciously than any other group in American history. So therefore, unless the people who are against the oppression, who understand and will fight against fascism, unless they get together now, they may not have the opportunity later. - Well, you're an old soldier in this field, you've been at it now since the late 1940s. Your wisdom and your experience is so timely needed. What do you say?

WILLIAM PATTERSON: I'm of the opinion that we are passing through a very grave period in American history. If anyone had doubts as to the growth and development of fascism, and toward a police state in our country, they would not have to give more than superficial attention to the attacks being made against the Panthers, the Panther Party, against militants and progressive social forces all over our country. This is not only an attack instituted by the Government on a city-wide, a state-wide and a national basis, but it is also represented by the attempts being made to build up a "white backlash" in America and to pit Americans who are white against those who are black and demanding only their constitutional rights and respect for their dignity as human beings. This conference should call together every progressive strain of the American population. It should place special emphasis upon activating labor. It should reach through those who are fighting on the peace front and those who are fighting against poverty. Especially must this call be made to all Americans, regardless of color, creed or political persuasion, who are against the inhuman treatment to which black America has been exposed for four centuries. I for one have been greatly heartened by this step taken by the Black Panthers. I believe that those who are in anyway in opposition to any position that the Panthers may have taken, see in this step forward, an appeal to America as a whole, particularly that phase of America that is interested in the National Liberation Struggles of the peoples of the world. The time is short and yet those who will give their support to this tremendous campaign must everywhere move into action immediately. There is no time to waste. I'm in agreement with you Charlie, that this is a matter of historic importance. Not only to all progressive Americans, but as well to the peace of the world.

chairman; O.K., I would also like to ask you Charles and Brother Patterson, both of you are lawyers, how do you see the courts or the court system?

terrors with the fascization of America presently and futuristically?

WILLIAM PATTERSON: It is my thinking that the courts are being used by city, state and federal governments as a weapon of persecution in so far as black men and women are concerned. I would like to say, that while I am by profession a lawyer, I am not and have not been for almost 40 years a practicing attorney. But I have been deeply impressed by the magnificent struggle that Charles Garry has made in this fight to save the life of Huey Newton and to secure his freedom. To bring the attention to America, white America, that for a black man today to secure a jury of his peers is an impossible thing. I want, as a black man, as a fellow American and as a human being, to thank Charles Garry for what he's done in this instance, for he has shown clearly the manner in which the courts are not trying to secure the freedom of a man, regardless of his belief, if he is guilty of no crime, but in which they are being used to persecute a people seeking human dignity and freedom.

CHAIRMAN: In all of your experiences, both of you, we would like for you to explain how fan-

...the people of the United States when the people of the United States are denied the right to full employment created by capitalism?

**WILLIAM PATTERSON:** American imperialism forces the growing wrath of the American people. This it sees in the fight that American has made for... in the fight that is being made for the use of billions for murder on a foreign field and the denial of food, clothing and an education to millions of Americans. Its only answer is Terror. Its police have become a weapon of terror, to force upon black people in particular a denial of their constitutional rights and dignity as human beings. Its courts have become institutions of terror, become institutions engaged in a conspiratorial attempt to deny human beings their rights. Thus we can see, in the activities taking place on a national scale the mounting danger of fascism in America; a danger that arises out of the unwillingness of those who govern this country to grant to the American people the rights that are theirs.

**ATTORNEY GARRY:** I'd like to add a few words to what Bill Patterson just stated. I recall in the early '30's when the President of the United States, a man by the

name of Herbert Hoover, who could not even see the needs of the hunger and the depression that this country went through, he suggested that people get out and sell apples on the street corners, and when a group of World War I veterans who had fought and were wounded and other things in Flanders and in the battlefields of France, they decided to take their grievances and march on Washington. The MacArthur couldn't think of any other way of handling the matter except having General MacArthur turn the hoses upon the men who were expressing the dissent of not being satisfied with longer. Today we're faced with another serious matter. The United States Government today is carrying on what we call illegal and oppressive, inhuman warfare on people of color in Vietnam. The American people are dissatisfied with this conduct to such an extent that President Johnson did not have the nerve to run for re-election. The campaign throughout the United States are complaining about the treatment that the young are getting. People of color, both black, brown, red, the third world liberation movement are dissatisfied with the kind of conduct they're receiving. This government does not have the answer of solving this problem because they can't solve it because the economy is run

by the few. The capitalist society is running the economy of this country, therefore, they will not, and cannot solve the problems, so they resort to what they call "use of violence". The violence is put on the people in the campuses, the people in the ghetto and the people in the rural working areas, as Cesar Chavez is witnessing in California. They are faced with what they call "law and order" which is law and order with force and violence on the part of the establishment. And they use the courts through the district attorneys, and through the police department to harass the leaders of these people's movements throughout the United States. And it's because they are using the arms of the judiciary and circumventing the intent of justice, fascism is on its way here. And I don't see a way of stopping it, unless lawyers who believe that the constitution of the United States was meant for all of the people, unless the labor unions wake up and recognize that what's happening to the black ghetto, and to the brown people and to the people of the third world liberation movement, and the farm workers and the students, unless the labor unions awaken to their responsibility, they're going to find later on, that it's going to be too late, there's not going to be any labor movement. These are the areas which I'm just gently touching, and I hope that in the coming days we will be able to project the importance of being able to fight back in a manner that will produce results, and stop this holocaust that we're in.

**DAVID:** O.K., This is the final question, and possibly the question that's caused most controversy lately, most controversy lately in regards to the Black Panther Party, and the question is do you see any connection with the recent testimony given by a member of our Party for a period of three months, Larry Powell. Do you see a relation to the Matsuo testimony of hearing with the Mac Carthy Committee, I believe?

**ATTORNEY GARRY:** Yes, I certainly do. Matsuo was a member of the United Front to testify to the fact that the government wanted him to testify, until he got convicted of treason. I believe, in the Jim Crow era, where he reported it all and he wrote the book called False Witness, he admitted that he had been of the movement of the United States Government at that time. At the present time the same thing is happening. The Black Panther Party set forth rules of discipline for its members, one of them was that they were not to use any terroristic action against people of the community, that they were to obey the laws and carry on political education as planned. And when the members who had been expelled because of their misconduct and conduct that's contrary to the best interest of the Black Panther Party, particularly for crime that they against individuals of the community, when they're expelled it seems that the Oakland Police Department and the District Attorney of Alameda County immediately embrace this person and make them part of their own establishment. You can draw all kinds of inferences from what I said. Will do you want to add anything?

**WILLIAM PATTERSON:** I would like to say just this, I'm in full agreement with the remarks just made by Charlie Garry. I would want to say that the relationship between the testimony given by the Powells and that which had been given by the admitted steel-pipe man Matsuo is quite similar, but what we must see in both is the conspiratorial action of the government. Of course, the government is in a position to buy many of them who are workshipped, to educate many of our kids and young women who are seeking a new life. It's to be expected that some of them would betray their fathers and their mothers and their own future. We must understand that this reflects the corrupting force of the third of government under which we live. We condemn these people, we pity them, but our condemnation and our hatred is reserved for those corrupting forces that are doing this thing, destroying the integrity and the inherent honor of black youth and white youth and seeking to make their false testimony the basis for the prosecution of the militants in our country.

**CHAIRMAN:** Thank you. Thank both of you.

68

9/26/69

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-10)  
FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2346) (P)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM - BPP  
SUBMISSION OF INTELLIGENCE DATA

Remyairtel, 9/12/69.

There continues to be no indication of a BPP group in Cincinnati or of any effort to organize same.

The BPP type group in Columbus, Ohio, has had no significant activity within the past two weeks. Efforts continue at Columbus to develop sources regarding this group.

Cincinnati has no counterintelligence recommendations at this time. When actual BPP organizational efforts are determined, Cincinnati will develop counterintelligence items to combat same.

- (3) - Bureau (1 - 100-448006, Counterintelligence Program) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2137) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (1 - 157-2346) (1 - 157-2346A)

(7)

NOT RECORDED  
172 OCT 2 1969

53 OCT 7 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

FBI

Date: 9/26/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

**P L A I N T E X T**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **A I R T E L**

**A I R M A I L - R E G I S T E R E D**

(Priority)

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)**

**FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601) (P)**

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

*C. J. Moore*

ReBuairtel 9/18/69.

For the information of offices other than New York and Newark, reairtel discussed a New York communication concerning a reported official statement by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE on plans of [REDACTED], a former BPP official at Newark, to initiate a new and separate "Black Nationalist Party". The Bureau pointed out that the issuance of the SEALE statement represents an excellent opportunity to divide the BPP.

It is noted that the 5/4/69 issue of "The Black Panther" reported the expulsion of [REDACTED] and labeled him an "agent provocateur and degenerate". Information available to San Francisco indicates that nationally, the BPP is in a

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Newark (RM)
- 1 - New York (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - Boston (RM)
- 1 - Kansas City (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco

100-448006-132  
 EX-106  
 REC-95  
 22 SEP 30 1969

(11)

*5. [Signature]*

Approved: **53 OCT 7 1969**  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*62*

SF 157-601

LSB/jmp

condition of disruption and the only effective chapters still operating outside the San Francisco area are in Chicago, Boston, Kansas City, New York, Los Angeles and Seattle.

BPP National Headquarters in Berkeley, Calif., are in frequent telephonic contact with leaders and Officers of the Day for these chapters. An expulsion letter directed to these individuals would have no effect inasmuch as they could immediately ascertain the communication was not legitimate. For the same reason, it would not appear that any attempt should be made to direct letters to individuals in this area who are in immediate contact with the National office. However, there is a possibility that expulsion letters directed to BPP members who are not in close contact with the National office, accusing them of Black Nationalism, may produce some disruption and defection among the existing membership. San Francisco contemplates the preparation of an expulsion letter for mailing to such BPP members. The letter would be prepared over the signature of DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, and mailed from Berkeley, Calif.

Chicago, Seattle, Boston, Kansas City, New York and Los Angeles, are requested to furnish San Francisco a list of those members of BPP still known to be active in their respective area along with their mailing addresses. This list should not include prominent members of the chapter who are in close contact with the National office.

On receipt of replies to this communication, San Francisco will furnish Bureau a copy of expulsion letter and request that copies of the letter be prepared at the Laboratory over the signature of DAVID HILLIARD for mailing from Berkeley, Calif.

FBI

Date: 9/24/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulet to San Francisco 9/12/69.

Since receipt of Bureau letter 7/11/69, the following counterintelligence action has been taken by this office in attempt to disrupt the BPP. Prior to the convening of the BPP sponsored United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) in Oakland 7/18-20/69, the Alameda taxpayers associates protested the use of the Merritt Junior College auditorium by the BPP, and, as a result, the organization was forced to spend \$1,000 for rental of the Oakland City Auditorium. A copy of the BPP Coloring Book along with the July 5, 1969 issue of "The Black Panther" were anonymously mailed to seven addressees who were aiding or in a position to aid the BPP Breakfast for Children Program. The same addressees were later mailed a copy of an article concerning the BPP and the Breakfast for Children Program by WILLIAM BUCKLEY, JR.

During the the previously mentioned UFAF conference at Oakland, a confidential informant was utilized to seed DeFremery Park at Oakland, Calif., with a leaflet prepared by the Los Angeles Division concerning [REDACTED] who is a friend of the Black Panthers.

San Francisco has also ascertained that [REDACTED] is a BPP member and was driving a truck utilized

REC-11

- (2) - Bureau (AM-RM)  
2 - San Francisco

59 OCT 31 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per

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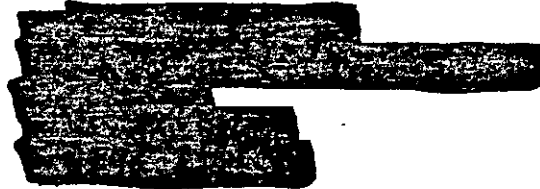
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SF 157-601  
LSB:rvn

in delivering "The Black Panther" when he was involved in the accidental death of a ten year old Negro boy. Court records and coroner records have been checked and this office is presently attempting to ascertain a way of informing the Victim's mother, without further grievance to her, of the location of BPP bank accounts.

This office has kept in mind the possibility of using a new black extremist group in an attempt to cause further defection from the BPP. To this end, the following former BPP members in the San Francisco area have been interviewed since 7/11/69:



Almost without exception, the aforementioned individuals have left the BPP because of personality conflicts with BOBBY SEALE rather than their objections to the ideology of the Panthers. No information has been received to date of any new black extremist group attempting to recruit ex-BPP members in this area. To date, no specific proposals have been made concerning the Bureau aiding in the formation of a new organization made up of these ex-BPP members because their general background would indicate that they would not be conducive to being properly supervised in such an undertaking.

FBI

Date: 9/22/69

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI-(100-448066)-  
100-448006

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST--HATE GROUP  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re San Francisco airtel dated 9/8/69.

By airtel dated 9/15/69, San Francisco requested Bureau authority to anonymously advise landlord of GAIL SPILLARD, who is active in the BPP National Distribution Office, that she was renting an apartment from him under an assumed name. Permission was also requested to forward the landlord anonymously a copy of an article in "The Black Panther" signed by SPILLARD.

This office has continued efforts to determine the best means of advising executor or administrator of ERNEST JORNER concerning BPP bank accounts. JORNER was a young Negro male who was killed in a truck driven by [REDACTED]. The truck is used by the BPP Distribution Office. Review of records of Office of Coroner indicated that an inquest was held in this matter on 9/11/69, and despite the fact that [REDACTED] did not appear, the Coroner's Jury found, "We find no evidence of criminal responsibility on part of the driver".

ST 104 REC-54 100-448006-1318

The mother of JORNER was at the inquest but she was not accompanied by an attorney. Further review of records of Office of the Clerk, Superior Court, San Francisco, reflects that no civil suit has been filed in this matter. This matter will be followed.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco

(4)

8 OCT 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

66/



SF 157-601

LSB:jo

Agents have been instructed to be particularly alert concerning any possible action in this matter directed toward BPP funds.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, Los Angeles (157-1751)

9/29/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Reurairtel 9/15/69, captioned "Black Panther Party,  
RM - BPP."

Referenced airtel contained information emanating from [REDACTED] concerning the immorality of female members of the BPP in Los Angeles. This information poses an interesting situation for possible counterintelligence. Los Angeles should review this material and forward a specific counterintelligence proposal designed to disrupt the activities of the Los Angeles chapter.

Handle promptly.

(4)

## NOTE:

[REDACTED] recently made available information indicating that almost all the female members of the Los Angeles Chapter of the BPP have engaged in extra-marital and otherwise lascivious conduct. We are instructing Los Angeles to review this material and forward a specific counterintelligence proposal designed to disrupt the activity of this organization.

MAILED 5  
SEP 26 1969  
COMM-FBI

REC-20

100-448006-1317

18 SEP 29 1969

97 OCT 15 1969

ALL ROOMS TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop

DATE: 9/16/69

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
(attn. R.H. Horner)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This is to recommend attached mass media item be furnished a cooperative news media source in Washington, D. C., on a confidential basis. Item relates that the Black United Front (BUF) has demanded a "tax" of a dollar per demonstrator (or a lump sum of \$25,000) be paid by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) in order to hold an antiwar demonstration November 15, 1969, in Washington, D. C. NMC officials have rejected this demand.

Publicity about this situation would cause dissension within the BUF, since the rank and file membership are not aware of this BUF demand advanced by [REDACTED] of the BUF. Publicity about this in Washington, D.C., would also help neutralize this demonstration by alerting potential demonstrators to the possibility of trouble arising at the demonstration. This counterintelligence action would also further the rift between this antiwar group and the black community.

## ACTION:

That Crime Records Division furnish attached item to a cooperative news media source in Washington, D. C., on a confidential basis.

Enclosure

100-448006

*TB O'Leary @*  
*4/10/69 9/17/69*

*5 - R.H. Horner*

REC 67

100-448006-1316

*OK*  
*W.C. Sullivan*

10 SEP 26 1969

ENCLOSURE  
98 OCT 2 1969

*411*  
*T80*

*69*

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

September 17, 1969

### BUF "TAX" ON ANTIWAR RALLY REJECTED

The Black United Front (BUF) has demanded a "tax" of a dollar per demonstrator be paid by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) in order to hold an antiwar demonstration November 15, 1969, in Washington, D. C. NMC officials have rejected the demand.

[REDACTED], chairman of the BUF, presented the demand to NMC with an alternative payment of \$25,000 and three printing presses. [REDACTED] told NMC officials that the demonstrators would think they were in Vietnam themselves, as a result of action by Washington, D. C., "youths" recruited by [REDACTED] if the demand was not met. The "tax" was levied because [REDACTED] feels any trouble in connection with the demonstration would reverberate on the black community.

[REDACTED] was seconded by [REDACTED] of the BUF who asked NMC leaders whether they wanted the demonstrators to be met "on the highway or in the city?" Fearing for the safety of demonstrators [REDACTED], Dave Dellinger and [REDACTED] of the NMC offered \$10,000 to BUF even though the NMC is several thousand dollars in debt. The BUF would not negotiate the price.

The NMC and its Washington, D. C., chairman, Abe Bloom, now have decided that [REDACTED] hasn't got the support of the whole BUF and the NMC will not pay the "head tax" as a matter of principle. The "matter of principle" is in spite of NMC's previous offer to negotiate the price.

(10)

#### NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence, (Black United Front)," dated 9/16/69 and prepared by TJD:cs.

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-448000-1316

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/22/69

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
BUDED 9/24/69

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/12/69.

The building housing the Des Moines Chapter of the BPP in June, 1969, was declared a health hazard by the Des Moines City Health Department and was thereafter abandoned. Telephone service to the Des Moines chapter was terminated at the end of June, 1969. During July, 1969, [REDACTED] of the Kansas City BPP was in contact with the National Office of the BPP to attempt to reopen the Des Moines BPP Office. [REDACTED] was recommended by [REDACTED] to assume leadership role in this organization. [REDACTED] In August, 1969, advised he had reopened the Des Moines BPP Office, however, informant considers current status of Des Moines BPP to be a "single man operation."

JUNE HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff, National BPP Headquarters, in August, 1969, announced that the Omaha BPP Chapter had been disbanded and its leader, [REDACTED] expelled from the BPP, however, he announced that the BPP might reestablish a Omaha Chapter at a future date.

In late August, 1969, an organization known as United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) was formed in Omaha and this organization has been described as a replacement for the BPP. The activities of this group are being closely followed.

During the summer months of 1969, the BPP Chapters in Des Moines and Omaha were completely inactive and as a result of this inactivity and the status of the two chapters as indicated above, no positive steps could be taken to exploit the weaknesses of the BPP.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Omaha

(4)



5010-108-02

OCT 3 - 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

EX-103  
P. 103

REC-95

EX-103

100-448006-1315

26

2 SEP 22 1969

OM 157-272

At present it appears that the UFAF is simply another name for the BPP and it is not know at the present time if membership in this group is restricted to Negroes. It is felt that the UFAF is not one of those groups being formed which will recruit its membership from ex-BPP members.

It is anticipated that concrete proposals regarding counterintelligence activities against this new organization will be submitted in the future to the Bureau for consideration and approval.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/24/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBalet 9/3/69 and Bulet 9/18/69.

San Francisco has received no information to date indicating the possibility that HUEY P. NEWTON is going to be expelled from the BPP or that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is disenchanted with BPP leadership and will join a group of ousted members of the BPP to start a new organization.

On the contrary, each weekly issue of "The Black Panther" features both NEWTON and CLEAVER. It does not appear logical that either NEWTON, the head of the BPP, or CLEAVER would be expelled by an anonymous letter. CLEAVER, in recent conversations with BPP Headquarters, has been very cordial and ELBERT HOWARD, Editor of "The Black Panther" was recently in the orient and planning on visiting CLEAVER before his return to the United States.

It is believed that anonymous letters directed to either HUEY P. NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER would have no effect while the BPP paper continues to eulogize them each week.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Baltimore (157-2520) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco

REC 85

EX. - 113

17 SEP 26 1969

(5)

59 OCT 31 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

73

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 9/24/69

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, 7/11/69, captioned as above; Bureau airtel to Albany, 9/4/69, captioned "Black Extremist Group Recruiting Ex-Black Panther Party Members, Racial Matters", and Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/12/69, captioned as above.

The situation of the Kansas City, Mo. Chapter of the BPP does not lend itself to specific counterintelligence action. Kansas City, Mo. BPP is a small group, consisting of approximately 17 members, and has received little support from the black community. Recent emphasis upon attempting to gain support through the founding of the Bobby Hutton Free Community Health Clinic has resulted in utter frustration. The black community has not utilized the facility and has taken scant notice of its existence. The present drive to re-establish the Children's Breakfast Program has met with indifference by the black community.

The recent disclosure through the public news media by [REDACTED] that he is a Maoist and Marxist communist has resulted in many moderate black and white sympathizers turning their backs on the group. This disclosure was widespread and no action deemed appropriate by this office.

ST-109 REC-96  
The obvious weaknesses of the Kansas City BPP group have been exploited through frequent personal contacts with black citizens and potential Black Panther members in the normal course of business. When agents are interviewing citizens in the black community, interviewees usually ask questions concerning the Black Panthers. Agents have referred these persons to the published article concerning the Black Panthers' communist beliefs and practices. This has resulted in no embarrassment to the Bureau as the statement by [REDACTED] was widely publicized and available to the community.

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Kansas City

SEP 29 1969



(4)

81969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

74



KC 100-12448

Another tactic utilized by the Kansas City Division is through agents assigned to Black Panther matters familiarizing themselves with the "Mao Red Book"; and during interviews with suspected and potential members, agents use quotes from this book to show the discrepancies in teachings by the Black Panther leaders. This has tended to degrade Kansas City, Mo. BPP leaders somewhat and may be a partial cause of lost membership in the Kansas City Chapter.

All agents are aware of the necessity for exploiting the weaknesses of the Kansas City, Mo. BPP, and that potential for action in this matter will be aggressively pursued.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 -

SAC, Los Angeles (157-4054)

10-3-69

EX-106

REC-73

Director, FBI (100-448006) -1312

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReLAlet 9-24-69.

Referenced communication requests permission for the mailing of an anonymous letter to Raymond Hewitt. Prior to considering this proposal, Los Angeles should forward a copy of the proposed letter. Handle promptly.

(4)

## NOTE:

As part of a continuing Counterintelligence Program Los Angeles has proposed an anonymous mailing. That office failed to include a copy of the suggested letter. Prior to giving consideration to the proposal, we are calling for such a copy.

MAILED 24

OCT 2 - 1969

COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

9-7

OCT 15 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

76

## Memorandum

TO : *WLB* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *FM* SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

DATE: 9/24/69

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

(BUDED: 9/24/69)

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 9/18/69,  
Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/12/69, Bureau letter  
to Los Angeles, 7/25/69, and San Francisco letter to  
Bureau, 7/28/69.

On 7/25/69, an anonymous letter was mailed to  
[REDACTED] a leader in the Los Angeles Black Panther  
Party (LA-BPP) containing what reportedly was a memo  
written by [REDACTED]. The contents of this memo were  
written in a manner to divide the BPP and the white groups  
who support them.

[REDACTED] revealed that a cartoon  
prepared by the Los Angeles Office depicting [REDACTED] as  
an informant, was distributed at the National Conference  
for a United Front Against Fascism held in Oakland on 7/13/69  
through 7/20/69.

Information received from [REDACTED] indicates that  
[REDACTED] Officer of the Day, LA-BPP, is 17 years of age  
and presently on probation. This source revealed that [REDACTED]  
has reported [REDACTED] as her employer when  
she is, in fact, employed full time by the BPP. The source  
further revealed that [REDACTED] may be pregnant by [REDACTED]  
who is presently charged with murder by the Los Angeles Police  
Department. This information has been given to the Intelligence  
Division, Los Angeles Police Department. This information was  
then relayed to [REDACTED] probation officer.

REC- 96

- ② - Bureau (REGISTERED) ST-109  
1 - Los Angeles

(3)

1312  
5 SEP 26 1969

FEDERAL INT. SECT.



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

8  
77

LA 157-4054

Intensive investigation is being conducted regarding harboring charges and possession of illegal firearms with the principal subjects being [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] is an active organizer and supporter of the Friends of the Panthers. [REDACTED] is a supporter of the Friends of the Panthers and additionally, supplies a great deal of financial support in the BPP. It is felt that any prosecution or exposure of either [REDACTED] will severely hurt the BPP. Any exposure will not only deny the Panthers money but in addition, would cause other white supporters of the BPP to withdraw their support. It is felt that the Los Angeles chapter of the BPP could not operate without the financial support of white sympathizers.

[REDACTED] is currently attempting to purchase two machine guns and two passports from an unknown individual. This investigation is being conducted by Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, Los Angeles, and close liaison is being maintained.

Interviews of local BPP members are being conducted and all local violations reported to the appropriate law enforcement agency. As a result of reports of local violations, the leadership and membership are constantly being arrested. These arrests constitute not only a morale factor but a financial drain on the resources of the BPP. Due to these arrests, the LA-BPP has a serious split in the membership and the leaders of the LA-BPP are unsure as to whose orders to follow.

Referenced Los Angeles letter to Bureau requested Bureau authority to mail a copy of an item entitled "Report on Background and Activities of Ron Karenga" to RON KARENGA, head of the US organization. It is felt that when KARENGA knows that the BPP has this item in their possession, the gap between the US organization and the BPP will widen.

In an attempt to determine the activities of the individuals involved in the formation of a new organization made up of ex-BPP member [REDACTED] has been instructed to sympathize with and discreetly condemn the leadership of the BPP. At the same time, he has been told to maintain close contact with all BPP leaders both old and new.

LA 157-4054

In an attempt to disrupt this organization, Bureau authority is requested to mail an anonymous letter to [REDACTED]. This letter would be sent as though from an ex-Panther who is still sympathetic with the BPP. The letter would name [REDACTED], who are two individuals active in the Los Angeles area setting up this organization.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)

10/2/69

EX-106

REC-73

Director, FBI (100-448006) -1311

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
CONFERENCE)

Reurlet 9/24/69 and Bulet 8/20/69.

Philadelphia did not advise whether the counter-intelligence action proposed would affect court action in this case, as you were requested to do in referenced letter.

For the guidance of Philadelphia, letters proposing counterintelligence action should contain the following in order for the Bureau to approve the proposed action:

1. The specific extremist nature of the target, whether a group or individual. Specific information regarding advocacy of violence, revolution or separatism should be included.
2. The counterintelligence action should be set out in detail; include what action is proposed and how it is to be accomplished. If sources are to be utilized, their reliability should be stated.
3. Explain how the counterintelligence action would neutralize or disrupt the target.
4. Assurance should be given that the operation will not embarrass the Bureau.

MAILED 24 to

OCT 2 - 1969

COMM. BUREAU

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Philadelphia should resubmit its counterintelligence proposal in line with the above.

(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

97 OCT 15 1969

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

gm  
T.D.

88

Letter to SAC, Philadelphia  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
CONFERENCE

NOTE:

Philadelphia recommended starting a rumor of a dispute between leaders of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/23/69

FROM: SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

(Buded: 9/24/69)

ReBulet to SF 9/12/69, and Bulet to SF 7/11/69.

Exploiting the weaknesses of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Indianapolis Division has been done in several ways since receipt of referenced Bureau letter 7/11/69. Some of the weaknesses exploited include: (1) financial, (2) suspicion of one member for another, and (3) exposing BPP programs.

The first weakness of the BPP was that of financial, which was dealt with in several ways. The BPP in Indianapolis has always had financial problems, and has been continually low or overdrawn in their bank account which has been monitored by the Indianapolis Office. Since it was determined the BPP did have financial problems, it was learned the BPP owed the Indiana Bell Telephone Company for several months of telephone service, and Indiana Bell was encouraged to remove the service from BPP Headquarters. The service was in fact cut off at BPP Headquarters on or about 9/15/69.

In addition, the BPP has been receiving their office space rent free, but are now faced with relocating as the owner of the building is selling the property. The owner, who is selling, has been encouraged to move the BPP out as soon as possible and without funds, the BPP has been unable to locate another site for their headquarters, and will be put out of their present headquarters any day.

3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Indianapolis

(4)

REC 82  
EX-111

2 SEP 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 OCT 3 1969

82



Other weaknesses that have been capitalized on include interviews of members wherein jealousy among the members has been stimulated and at the same time has caused a number of persons to fall under suspicion and be purged from the Party. Along with interviewing these members, [REDACTED] in Indianapolis, was finally interviewed in August 1969, after many previous attempts had failed. After several contacts, [REDACTED] advised he desired to purge himself of the charge of contempt of court against him in San Francisco, California, and that [REDACTED]

44 [REDACTED] is holding a press conference on 9/23/69 and renouncing the BPP and resigning as [REDACTED] in Indianapolis. His leaving the BPP has taken a number of members with him who had been considering leaving, but were staying because he was staying. As a result of his leaving the BPP is faced with losing their leader and a number of members, having to locate a new headquarters and obtain funds by some means. [REDACTED]

The BPP in Indianapolis also attempted to start a Breakfast for School Children Program and anonymous mailings were made to ministers of churches in the area of the BPP Headquarters, and they were not allowed to establish a program in that area. They did go to the other side of town and in conjunction with several other organizations, set up a breakfast program; however, the individual with whom they obtained the facilities was contacted by the Indianapolis Office, and he in turn, did not let the BPP put up any photos or posters and did not let the BPP talk to the children about the BPP program or teach hate. As a result the BPP soon dropped out of the program and left it with the other organizations to operate.

The BPP in Indianapolis is now in a precarious position in a struggle for existence and their new Chairman is a former BPP member who was purged and now has been asked to come back by the remaining few members. [REDACTED], the former Chairman, advises that the BPP National Headquarters will most likely not approve their choice as Chairman, and someone will be sent from National Headquarters to run the Chapter. If National Headquarters does not send someone, [REDACTED] advises the Chapter is likely to fold in Indianapolis in the near future.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: Sept. 23, 1969

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBULEts to San Francisco, July 11 and  
September 12, 1969.

BPP activities in the Seattle Division have been almost non-existent during the summer months of 1969. The Seattle BPP Chapter is currently involved in a power struggle amid the leadership and, in addition, has given indications of promoting future programs along political lines rather than continuing the more violent confrontation-type tactics. At this time, the Seattle BPP Chapter attracts very few members to regular meetings and is having considerable difficulty financing even the most modest political programs. In addition, the Negro population of Seattle has rejected BPP programs but has supported the more legitimate demands of other non-militant Negro groups.

Since reBULEt of July 11, 1969, Seattle BPP members, through their own mis-calculations and ineptness have almost removed this group as a problem in the State of Washington.

At this time it would not appear logical to promote the formation of any group composed of ex-BPP members in the State of Washington. The Seattle Division will continue to follow this situation closely and will immediately advise the Bureau of any COINTEL potential arising from this situation.

② - Bureau (REG)  
2 - Seattle

(4)

Ex. 104

REC 16

18 SEP 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 OCT 31 1969

84

September 24, 1969

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, WFO (157-1292)

ST-109 REC-77

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1308

COINTELPRO BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

ReWFOairtel 9/19/69.

Submit news release mentioned in referenced airtel  
for Bureau's consideration.

[REDACTED]  
(5)

NOTE:

Referenced airtel indicated the Black United Front  
in making reparation demands from churches were making their  
demands so exorbitant that the churches could not possibly  
make the payments. [REDACTED] of the  
Black United Front, admitted these demands were political in  
nature to show religious institutions were racist in nature.  
WFO suggested that a carefully worded news release following  
a confrontation by this group with a church would tend to  
embarrass Reverend Moore and the Black United Front.

MAILED 24

SEP 24 1969

COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

58 OCT 6 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 9/19/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COINTELPRO BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

Re WFO airtel and LHM dated 9/18/69, captioned  
"BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF), RM".

In view of the remarks of the [REDACTED] at the BUF meeting held Wednesday evening, 9/17/69, at the Douglas Memorial Methodist Church, wherein he admitted that the current campaign being waged by the BUF in demanding reparations was political in nature, in order to show that religious institutions were racist in nature and that the BUF would make exorbitant demands which the churches could not possibly meet in order to prove this point, WFO is of the opinion that the Bureau can profit from these statements by showing the true nature and character of the BUF.

WFO is of the opinion that a carefully prepared and properly worded news release passed out to reporters or columnists known to be friendly to the Bureau could result in acute embarrassment to both [REDACTED] and the BUF.

In this connection the news release should be timed for release following a BUF confrontation with a church group.

2 - Bureau  
2 - WFO  
(1 - 157-1426) (BUF)

(4)

ST-109

REC-77

100-448006-1308

4 SEP 25 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

86

WFO 157-1292

If the Bureau is of the opinion that such a counter-intelligence project, calculated to <sup>embarrass</sup> ~~embarrass~~ the image of the BUF and/or [REDACTED] in the community, is desirable, WFO is prepared to forward such a release or if the Bureau so desires, the release could be prepared at the Seat of Government.

No counterintelligence action will be initiated without prior Bureau approval.

SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

9/24/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1307

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSFairtel 9/15/69.

Permission is granted for San Francisco to anonymously mail a copy of the article appearing in the BPP newspaper to [REDACTED]. In addition, the note mentioned in referenced airtel should be included with the article. When reproducing the article to be mailed, San Francisco should insure that there are no identifying marks on this reproduction. The note should be typewritten on a manual typewriter using commercially purchased paper. Strict security must be maintained. San Francisco should advise if any results are received from this mailing.

(4)

NOTE:

A female BPP member who is active in the production of the notorious BPP newspaper, recently moved to an apartment under an alias. San Francisco has requested permission to send copies of an article which appeared in the BPP newspaper to her new landlord. This article also contains a photograph of her. We are interested in disrupting the production and distribution of the BPP newspaper. It is believed that any disruption of its staff will assist us in disrupting the newspaper. We are authorizing this anonymous mailing. The note which will accompany the article identifies the BPP member as the new tenant. There is no chance that this mailing will be traced to the Bureau.

MAILED 11

SEP 23 1969

COMM-FBI

Folsom \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

59 OCT

7 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

88

FBI

Date: 9/15/69

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

100-448006-1301  
9/20/69 JAH/8  
[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] had rented an apartment under the name of [REDACTED] from a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was required to give references and she instructed her references that she had rented the apartment under the name of [REDACTED]

Enclosed is a copy of an article in "The Black Panther" dated 8/16/69, signed by SPILLARD. SPILLARD has recently been active in the National Distribution Office of the BPP.

Inquiries have indicated that telephone number [REDACTED] and the bill is sent to [REDACTED] the same address. There is no derogatory information in San Francisco files concerning [REDACTED]

Bureau permission is requested to mail anonymously a copy of the enclosed article to [REDACTED] with a small attached note, [REDACTED]. It would appear that any action inconveniencing [REDACTED] may adversely affect the distribution of the BPP weekly newspaper.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 15-3551) (SPILLARD)

(4)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: ABG  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
SEP 17 1969  
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

89

# FASCIST PIGS DENY FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

This Capitalist System has corrupted the minds of the poor and oppressed people of the world. The Black Panther Community News Service, recognizes that misinformation is the raw material for funny ideas.

On the morning of August 1, 1969, many Panthers left the San Francisco Branch of the Black Panther Party to go into the streets to inform the masses of the fascist conditions that exist in this decadent American society.

In the early morning hours, the San Francisco Bus Terminal is a central location for city workers. We proceeded to this location, along with four other Panthers with papers. On arrival we split up into different areas. We stationed ourselves at the two doors through which the workers pass, for arrival and departure of buses. We sold papers there for about one hour. The workers were steadily buying papers. The fascist State pig saw this and ordered us to move. We went down to the sidewalk where another brother was selling papers, off of the so-called State Property. We sold papers and educated the workers there for one hour.

Brother Harold Holmes had to return early in order to teach the young minds of the revolutionary brothers and sisters, at the San Francisco Liberation School, which is located at 1642 Ellis St. In the Fillmore District. We also wanted to return to continue to sell the remainder of our papers on Sutter & Fillmore. We walked up to where we could catch the bus back when we saw two brothers from Vietnam, also waiting of the bus. Naturally they wanted a paper, and were interested in hearing about the Black Panther Party. Harold gave them a paper and told them that the war they had fought was an unjust war, and now they have to join a just war.

At that time the Fascist State Pig came out and told us to come down to his office. We asked him for a reason and he gave none. We then informed him of our Constitutional Rights, as he didn't appear to know them. Ignoring this, he grabbed Harold by the back of his jacket and pushed him into

the Terminal. He also grabbed Gail's arm and pushed her into the terminal with the attempt to get us downstairs. On our way downstairs the two soldiers and a bus driver followed us down. The three brothers questioned the pig, which is their Constitutional Right, as to why and where he was taking us. He told them to shut up and to get out or he would arrest them. Recognizing that his oink was invalid, they continued to follow us to the Pig's office. As we proceeded to the Pig's office, a pregnant sister saw the harassment by the pig and took interest.

In the office, Pig Montgomery, asked us for our I.D. We had none. He then told us we were under arrest for non-possession of identification. He asked for our names. We told him. He asked for our address. We told him. He asked if it was an apartment or a residence. We told him that we took "five". The fool pig thought it was the apartment number, showing that he didn't know the fifth amendment. He still continued to ask and harass us about further information. We kept telling him we took the fifth amendment. He told us he didn't want to hear that "five" bit. The sergeant pig came in and checked on the address and said, "That's the Black Panther Office". That's when further harassment was shown. When they took us to the back of the office, Harold tried to give the sister, standing in the doorway, the papers so the pig wouldn't get them because, they take them and don't give them back. The pig snatched the papers out of the sister's hands and then told us to go in the back. Montgomery searched Harold like a freak and then threw him into the cell. Then pig Montgomery told us to take off our coats. He searched them also.

The pig sargeant, then called down to City Prison and said, "We got some Black Panther down here." When the pigs came down there with the pig wagon, Montgomery told them our charge was 647-E. Gail heard them say, in reference to Panthers. "Oh' yeah, they're some smart bastards. Pig 1106 then came to handcuff Gail &

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

San Francisco  
Page #13

Date: 8/16/69  
Edition: Weekly  
Author:  
Editor: Eldridge Cleaver  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: S.F.  
☐ Being Investigated



Sharla together. He asked pig Montgomery if Sharla was a girl or a boy. Sharla has a large natural, was wearing large earrings, and her measurements are 36-23-38 so you can see the harassment right there. Pig 213 then handcuffed Harold. We could see that the handcuffs hurt by the expressions on Harold's face. They put all three of us into the pig wagon en route to city prison on Bryant St.

After we had arrived in the basement of the pig pen, pigs 213 and 1106 asked each other for the rubber hose. They also commented on Eldridge and asked when he would be back. We went up to the floor on which they booked us and put us in jail. As they were booking us the typist asked what we were charged with. Pig 1106 said it was either 647-E, or 647-C. He also said that it didn't matter because they could add a couple of more charges onto that. They took our finger prints and mugshots and put us in the tank with about 20 other sisters. Harold was confined for further abuse by the pigs for not having his draft card with him.

The pig, Montgomery, told us we had been charged with non-possession of identification. Not until we reached the bail bondsmen's did we find out what 647-E was. It wasn't for non-possession of identification it was for loitering.

Chairman Mao says that it is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.

The Black Panther Newspaper is the most vital tool for organizing the masses. Right on!

Free All Political Prisoners!  
All Power To The Vanguard

Free All Political Prisoners!  
All Power To The Workers!  
Panther Power To The Vanguard!

Gail Noldon  
Sharla Hampton



Gail Spillard



Sharla Hampton

13



Harold Holmes

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

DATE: 9-22-69

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

6 [Signature]  
5. [Signature]

Attached is a letter authorizing the New York Office to mail an anonymous communication, purportedly from the father of a black extremist, to a leader of a Jewish group called the "Jewish Defense League" (JEDEL). This communication seeks to establish a relationship between the sender and JEDEL for the purpose of furnishing JEDEL with instances in anti-Semitism by the Black Panther Party (BPP) and other extremist groups.

JEDEL is a Jewish vigilante-type organization formed and operated in New York City. Its aims and purposes are to protect Jewish people from all sorts of anti-Semitism. At this time its aims and purposes are not of an illegal nature and apparently not political. The Black Panther Party, as well as other extremist groups are anti-Semitic in nature. Many instances of anti-Semitism by the BPP have been noted. This information, when placed in the hands of JEDEL, could easily operate against the best interest of the BPP with resultant disruption.

JEDEL is apparently financially well-off and has access to newspaper coverage. It is our intent to create a fictitious source of information who will furnish public source data to Rabbi Meir Kahane, a director of JEDEL. It is expected that the information will ultimately be published and cause embarrassment to the BPP and other extremist groups.

New York has proposed the mailing of an anonymous letter from a pro-Jewish Negro father of a BPP member. The letter is addressed to Rabbi Kahane and professes sympathy and friendship for the Jews and criticism of the BPP. It leaves the way open for additional communications.

Enclosure - Sent 9-23-69  
(7)

REC-41

100-1-17001-1306

1c SEP 24 1969

CONTINUED - OVER

98 SEP 30 1969

95

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached letter granting New York authority to mail the suggested communication, be approved and forwarded. This letter insures that strict security be maintained and the communication be prepared on commercially purchased paper and envelope.

42  
JH  
JH  
Wes  
OK  
H  
✓  
K

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/22/69

FROM : *PLW* SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Omaha letter to Bureau, 9/8/69.

*NEB* As noted in referenced letter, the Omaha Chapter of the BPP was disbanded in August, 1969, and there were indications that the BPP might at a future date attempt to reactivate this chapter. Since that time, an organization known as United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) was formed in Omaha and the leader of this organization, [REDACTED] announced the UFAF was replacing the Omaha BPP and would work closely with the Kansas City BPP.

Concerning the Des Moines, Iowa, chapter of the BPP, [REDACTED] of this organization since its inception in the Summer of 1968, recently announced that he had secured new office space for the Des Moines Chapter and was in the process of reorganizing the chapter.

In view of the above information, Omaha does not feel that concrete recommendations can be made at this time re counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP or the newly formed UFAF.

This matter will continue to receive close attention and suggestions for counterintelligence action against the above organizations and its leadership will be submitted by separate communications.

REC-95

100-448006-1305

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Omaha

EX-111

2 SEP 25 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-02

5 OCT 8 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

97

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9-23-69

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
BUDED: 9-24-69

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 9-24-69  
DATE 9-19-71

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco 9-12-69.

On 8-21-69 and 8-31-69, joint rallies were held in Boston by the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), with the SDS, according to leaflets, being the organizing group. The themes of the rallies, however, was in defense of the BPP and denounced arrests of BPP members throughout the U. S. Both SDS and BPP speakers appeared at each rally. Mutual support and cooperation between the two groups appeared to exist and according to informants, is continuing.

Fines and money for bond has without question placed the Boston BPP in serious financial trouble. Since August, 1969, Boston Panther members have been involved in five separate arrests by FBI (New Haven) and Boston Police Department (Boston airtel and LHM to Bureau 9-19-69 BPP caption). According to [REDACTED], BPP rent has not been paid since June, 1969.

Boston informants advise that as yet, no evidence of an Ex-Panther organization in Boston has appeared and that former BPP members who were "purged" in May, 1969, are not seen with, and have no association with the current membership. [REDACTED] former top officers, have been away from Boston much of the summer, [REDACTED] in Washington, D. C. and Baltimore; [REDACTED] in California. [REDACTED] former Lieutenant of Information [REDACTED], former Secretary-Treasurer and [REDACTED] former BPP associate, are all now employed by "Model Cities", a city of Boston agency, and appear divorced from extremist activity. None of the

2-Bureau (RM) by 3047 REC 82  
2-Boston (RM) by 3047  
[REDACTED] of Declassification Indefinite



1 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

98



BS 157-531

approximately 20 members "purged" in May, 1969, are known at this time to have reactivated in any new or existing extremist organization.

An attempt was made to interview [REDACTED] on 9-22-69, however, no cooperation was obtained.

[REDACTED]

Through [REDACTED] [REDACTED] will try to apply further financial pressure on the BPP by encouraging [REDACTED] to insist on prompt payment of the \$120.00 monthly rental on BPP Headquarters, and to suggest a possible increase in this rate.

Boston will also continue day by day liaison with [REDACTED] and through exchange of information, will attempt to cause additional arrests of BPP members, further straining their financial condition.

The interview program with expellees will be continued and where cooperation is encountered, an attempt will be made to create active opposition to the current BPP.

FBI

Date: 9/19/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, Detroit (157-3214) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 9/15/69, captioned as above, San Francisco radiogram to Bureau, and Detroit dated 9/18/69, captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, DETROIT DIVISION, RM", and San Francisco letter to Bureau, dated 7/25/69, captioned as above.

Enclosed for San Francisco is a copy of a letter mailed out to the Detroit area Black Panther Party (BPP) members and leaders. Bureau authority was given 9/15/69 to mail this letter under the CIP both to Detroit members and to DAVID HILLIARD of the national office.

[REDACTED] advised that this letter has caused considerable consternation among members of the Detroit chapter. He said that the local people were convinced that [REDACTED], two local members, had gotten together to write this letter; consequently [REDACTED] of Detroit contacted national BPP headquarters 9/18/69 to advise them of this. Source said that [REDACTED] was told by national headquarters to stay away from [REDACTED] inasmuch as she was probably a police informant and that the letter had come from the police through her. However, the Detroit BPP members are quite shaken by this letter because

- REC-80 100-448006-1303
- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 105-165706 Sub 15)
  - 2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-2305) (enc.1) (RM)  
(1 - 157-601)
  - 1 - New Haven (Info) (RM)
  - 2 - Detroit

10 SEP 25 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

98 OCT 30 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-165706-15

Memo G.G. Moore to W.C. Sullivan

9/23/69

D. J. G. ar  
5-M. J. J. J.

188

DE 157-3214

most of them believe or at least suspect that the substance of the letter-- i.e. National BPP headquarters ordered the execution of ALEX RACKLEY of New Haven and MICHAEL BAYNAHM of Detroit-- is accurate; and at a meeting on 9/18/69 a decision was made to confront [REDACTED] on this matter in the near future, rather than to avoid her as had been suggested by national headquarters.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Bishop ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
Felt ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9/23/69

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

*jsy*

This is to advise of the success of a recent anonymous mailing made in Detroit, Michigan, and aimed toward causing disruption amongst the leadership of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

In an effort to neutralize the activities of the notorious BPP, an ever increasing counterintelligence effort has been waged. In line with this program and, by letter dated 9/15/69, the Detroit Office was authorized to mail an anonymous letter to selected Detroit BPP leaders and members. The letter was signed "A Concerned Sister" and raised the proposition that the death of BPP member Michael Baynahm was not by suicide but in reality a murder arranged for by national BPP headquarters. Baynahm was found dead several weeks ago. Police investigation resulted in a determination that he had committed suicide. BPP in Detroit has been concerned over his death and nervous in view of recent Panther murders throughout the country. In view of this and in order to disrupt this group, authority was given Detroit to mail this communication so that suspicion might be thrown on a female member.

Detroit has advised that this letter is causing considerable consternation, both in Detroit and with national BPP leaders. Two women are suspected and national headquarters ordered members to stay away from one of these persons inasmuch as she was "probably a police informant." We will continue to wage effective counterintelligence operations against this organization.

ACTION:

None. For information.

EX-102

REC- 86

- (7)
- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
  - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 1 - [REDACTED]

10 SEP 25 1969

98 SEP 30 1969

102

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *SLM*  
*268* SAC, PORTLAND (157-347) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 9/22/69

Re Bulet to San Francisco, 9/12/69.

The self-styled Black Panther Party (BPP) group at Portland is not recognized by National Headquarters, BPP. This group is essentially inactive and the current leader, [REDACTED], is currently on \$25,000 bond awaiting local prosecution on charge of rioting and inciting to riot.

The BPP group at Eugene, Oregon, composed primarily of University of Oregon students has been inactive during the summer months and has been torn with internal factionalism. The captain of this group, [REDACTED], has two local felony charges and one misdemeanor charge now pending against him which hopefully will put him out of circulation in the near future.

A recent shooting incident in which [REDACTED], Eugene BPP Field Lieutenant, was seriously wounded will undoubtedly further disrupt the Eugene group.

In view of these developments no positive steps have been taken to exploit the weaknesses of the BPP; however, developments at Eugene are being followed to determine if the BPP group re-organizes with the start of the current school year.

2 - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
2 - Portland

(4)

REC-8  
ST-101

22 SEP 25 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

*508*

*183*



31969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 9/23/69

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/12/69.

No positive counterintelligence measure has been devised by this office since receipt of Bulet dated 7/11/69.

Informants have provided no information to indicate that the BPP members in this division have been made aware of the organization's liaison with white groups or the efforts of some ex-BPP members to form a new party. Consequently, no logical counterintelligence measure which could exploit these weaknesses has been devised.

Informants advise that the two BPP chapters in this division, Sacramento and Vallejo, have sunk to such a low level of membership and activity that they are concerned with this matter and their own problem of survival. This matter has been and will continue to be followed closely and logical counterintelligence proposals which can exploit local BPP weaknesses will be presented for the Bureau's approval.

This division has ex-BPP members, many of whom were leaders, who could be used as scape goats in a counterintelligence measure based on allegations of an attempt to organize a new party. However, until reports of such a party are received from some source other than an anonymous mailing, it is not believed it will be credible.

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Sacramento

(4)

58 OCT 31 1969

REC-8

ST-101

17 SEP 25 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/24/69

FROM : *RWB* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulet to San Francisco 9/12/69.

Since Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 7/11/69, counterintelligence activity by Newark has consisted of anonymous mailings and interviews of BPP members.

Newark believes that interviews, particularly those of rank and file members, have been very effective and contributed to the decline in BPP activity.

Counterintelligence targets have dwindled in the Newark Division as the BPP has declined to one small chapter in Jersey City, N.J. The average attendance at meetings of this chapter currently averages 7 to 9 members.

There is no indication that this one remaining chapter in New Jersey is seeking any working alliance with any white organizations.

In regard to the possible formation of any new organization comprised of former BPP members, Newark would propose a continuation of counterintelligence activity similar to that used with apparent success against the BPP, namely anonymous mailings and an aggressive interview program.

② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark  
(3)

REC-8  
ST-101

2 SEP 25 1969

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RACIAL INT. SECT.  
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FBI

Date: 9/22/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140)  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReNYairtel and LHM dated 8/25/69, captioned  
"Black Panther Party (BPP), Newark Division, RM; CARL  
CONRAD NICHOLS RM - BPP"; Buairtel to Newark, 9/12/69.

The NYO can see no reason why statement of BOBBY  
SEALE set forth in referenced LHM may not be reproduced in  
its entirety by the Bureau or San Francisco.

2 Bureau (RM)  
1- San Francisco (INFO) (157-601)  
1- New York (43)

(5)  
1- Supv. #43

REC-5

EX-103

3 SEP 23 1969

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Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

106



SAC, Portland (157-347)

10/2/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) -1297

REC-68X-111

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

RePDlet 9/22/69.

The comments of the Portland Office as set forth in referenced letter are appreciated and well-founded. Portland should review pertinent files and submit a specific counterintelligence proposal concerning the anonymous mailing of "Guardian" articles. If successful, consideration will be given for utilizing this type of proposal in other offices.

(4) *jj*NOTE:

Portland has suggested that reprints of articles appearing in the "Guardian" be anonymously mailed to both members of the BPP and members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). These articles point out recent splits between the SDS and the BPP at a leadership level. Portland believes that these articles would spread the news of these splits to rank-and-file members of these groups. We are calling for a specific proposal as to mailing in the Portland area.

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OCT 2 - 1969

COMM-FBI

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107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/22/69

FROM : JLM  
ZEL SAC, PORTLAND (157-347) (P)SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Portland letter to Director, 9/2/69.

Background

The "Guardian" dated 8/16/69, carried an article captioned "Panther Leaders Blast SDS." According to article Black Panther Party (BPP) chairman BOBBY SEALE and Chief of Staff DAVID HILLIARD have characterized SDS as fascist organization.

It is noted that some SDS members in Oregon have subscribed to the BPP official publication, "The Black Panther," and have made financial contributions to the BPP.

Suggestion

It is suggested that reprints of the "Guardian" article be obtained to be mailed anonymously to SDS members many of whom are probably unaware of current dispute between SDS and BPP on leadership level over SDS refusal to endorse all aspects of a nation-wide petition campaign for community control of local police departments. It is proposed that each reprint carry an additional message such as "Don't support Black Panthers by financial contributions and don't support their anti-white publication "The Black Panther." If you now receive "The Black Panther" you are urged to cancel your subscription."

Effect

PARIS Mailing of the article would let SDS members in all states of the country know that BPP leadership has described SDS as fascists and would serve to inform SDS members that there is a split between SDS and BPP at leadership level. Such a mailing could have an affect of

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Portland  
(1 - 100-11048 COINTELPRO)



(4)

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22 SEP 25 1969

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PD 157-347

widening the split to include the rank-and-file members of SDS and could affect the financial support BPP is deriving from individual SDS members.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/22/69

FROM : *FWJ/ma* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

Re Newark letter to Bureau 9/8/69.

During the past two weeks no counterintelligence measures were aimed against the BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP).

No accomplishments were obtained during previous two-week period under captioned program.

By letter dated 9/18/69, Newark submitted a counterintelligence proposal to the Bureau for approval which involves the alteration of a cartoon which appeared in the BPP newspaper and mailing it to BPP members and sympathizers in an effort to embarrass BPP leaders in Jersey City, N.J.

REC-26

5 SEP 24 1969

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark

(3)



OCT 2 1969

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

110

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

DATE: 9/22/69

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, dated 9/9/69.

[REDACTED] of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis has been contacted on several occasions by Agents of the Indianapolis Division. [REDACTED] had a contempt of court charge pending appeal in connection with case entitled [REDACTED], aka ET AL, ARL", OO: San Francisco, Bufile: 176-1301.

Prior to the month of August, 1969, [REDACTED] had not talked with Agents of this Division. During August, however, [REDACTED] was contacted at least twice at which time he was willing to talk with Agents and being more receptive. As a result [REDACTED] ended up contacting this office on 9/4/69 and advising he wanted to purge himself of contempt of court charges and he would cooperate with the FBI.

[REDACTED]

On 9/20/69, [REDACTED] made a public statement to be released to all news media on 9/22/69, to the effect

- (2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (Info.) (157-2346) (RM)  
3 - Indianapolis  
    (1 - 157-1061)  
    (1 - 157-1129)

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REC-31

14 SEP 24 1969

RACIAL SECT



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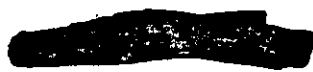
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

IP 157-761

that he was resigning as [REDACTED] of the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP as he could no longer go along with the BPP ideology. He went on to state that he felt that he could better serve the black community through non-violent means and through non-violent programs.

As a matter of counterintelligence interest [REDACTED], has furnished information of considerable value and made a public statement resigning and renouncing the BPP.

CE 157-6109



As additional details are received, the Bureau will be advised.

## Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/23/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulets to San Francisco, 7/11/69 and 9/12/69.

Since referenced letter dated 7/11/69, the NYO has taken the following steps to exploit the weakness of the BPP:

In the later part of August, 1969, an official of the Roman Catholic Church in New York City was advised of the BPP sponsorship of a "Breakfast for Children Program" held in a Roman Catholic Church in the Harlem, New York City area.

This program was promptly discontinued on 8/29/69, according to [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Since July, 1969, a confidential source of the NYO has been attempting to determine if any members of the BPP have been or are at present receiving welfare benefits from the City or State of New York. Such information could be used to show the dependence of individual BPP members on the "facilities of the establishment" and, therefore, be exploited in a Counterintelligence measure directed towards a weakness within the BPP as a group.

During July and August, 1969, various leaflets authorized under the COINTELPRO - New Left (Bufile 100-449698) (NYfile 100-163303) were directed at selected BPP members and other Black Militants within the New York City area.

The leaflets graphically depict white members of Students for a Democratic Society and the Third World Revolution among others, in a position exploiting the Black Man and his organizations.

REC-62

EX-113

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

OCT 23 1969



5010-108

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114



NY 100-161140

In regards to the Bureau's request that specific proposals concerning the formation of a "new organization made up of ex-BPP members" be submitted for consideration and approval, the following is submitted:

It has been the experience of the NYO through the continuing investigation of the BPP that the average length of time of membership of any one individual in the BPP has been relatively short. Therefore, the NYO has acquired background data and other information on at least 50 individuals who are former members of the BPP even though they were members for a limited period.

It is suggested that some of the above individuals be sent a letter from the "Ad Hoc Committee of Back to Black". This committee would claim that due to the BPP's preoccupation with the teachings of MAO TSE TUNG, CHE GUEVRA, and HERBERT MARCUSE, a Chinaman, and two whitemen, as well as a new found interest in fighting Fascism with the help of white students, that it, the BPP, no longer represents the aspirations and desires of Black people but has been taken over by the white man of his own interests.

The letterhead of the "Ad Hoc Committee" would include the names of present and ex-members of the BPP from the various BPP chapters around the country and would utilize as an address a Post Office Box at an appropriately located city within the United States.

It is felt that the above proposal would have some disruptive effect on the BPP in its activities in the New York City area even if limited to causing a denial of authenticity of the "Ad Hoc Committee of Back to Black" by current or ex-BPP members.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/19/69

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

4-16-77 RSG/KZ  
DeD

ReBSlet to Bureau, 8/26/69.

On 9/2/69, the Black Panther Party of Boston (BPP-B) held a rally in Roxbury, Mass., near the construction site of a new courthouse and police station. The purpose of the rally was to protest building of the new "pig pen" and was participated in by members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Republic of New Africa (RNA).

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

According to the two sources, bad feelings exist between the BPP-B and the RNA in Boston and that eventually a confrontation may come which will result in open warfare between the two groups.

b1

[REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Boston

EJB:gb

8 SEP 30 1969

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EX-103

REC-22

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

22 SEP 22 1969

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RACIAL INT. SECT

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/18/69

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS -  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 9-19-69

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 9/16/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of an item entitled "Report on Background and Activities of Ron Karenga."

The above enclosure was discovered in the possession of DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, when he passed through customs at Los Angeles International Airport on 7/30/69.

Bureau authority is requested to mail a copy of enclosure to RON KARENGA. A letter would be enclosed indicating that this item is in the hands of the BPP and is currently being disseminated by them.

It is felt that when KARENGA receives this item, it will further increase the tensions between the BPP and the "US" organization.

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]  
ON 4/15/00

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Encl. 1)
- 1 - Los Angeles

REC-77

EX-113

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

February 22, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT ON BACKGROUND AND ACTIVITIES OF RON KARENGA

First substantiated knowledge of Ron Karenga (real name Ron Everett) begins when he is a student at Los Angeles City College. He is a very successful student and first black President of the Student Body. At this stage of his development he is torn between the Nation of Islam on the followers of Elijah Muhammed, the philosophy and movement of Malcolm X and is considering the possibility of patterning a local black nationalist organization in Los Angeles after the Afro-American Association led by Donald Warden in Oakland, California.

Upon completion of an Afro-American degree at L.A. City College, Karenga enrolled at UCLA where he earned a degree in political science, graduating cum laude. He then completed his masters degree at UCLA, also in political science, again graduating with honors. Upon graduation from UCLA, in an organizational sense Karenga became involved in what was known as the Afro-American Association which was a take-off of the Oakland operation of Donald Warden as opposed to a more orthodox approach such as the Muslims or the one advocated by Malcolm X. From the outset the Afro-American Association was split between other members of the organization and Karenga, based upon Karenga's egotism and his -- as described by one participant in that operation -- "dictatorial attitude." Key people in the Afro-American Association in addition to Karenga were:

Hakim Jamal, a first cousin to Betty Schabazz, wife of Malcolm X. Jamal eventually broke off from the Afro-American Association and formed his own Malcolm X Foundation.

John Floyd, who in the year 1967 was the head of a Black Panther political party which was not a part of the known Black Panther party. Floyd, who is an accredited teacher, left that operation to take a teaching position at Westminster Neighborhood Association, a poverty program in the Watts area. Floyd left that operation to become active in the Black Congress and edited their newspaper, "The Black Voice."

Robert Williams (known as Robaire) has been and was the leading exponent of leftist philosophy within the Afro-American Association. Robaire Williams

broke away from the Afro-American Association and formed his own leftist organization. \* On Thanksgiving Day of 1967, when Harry Edwards was organizing the Olympic boycott in Los Angeles, there was a bloody encounter between the followers of Robaire and Karenga. Several people were shot at that time. Robaire is alleged to have been caught by his membership molesting an eight-year-old child and is alleged to have been beaten severely by his own men and chased from the City of Los Angeles.

Ayuko Babu (real name Anthony Ashley). Babu was also on the staff of Westminster Neighborhood Association in Watts as a street worker. He left that assignment and became a field organizer in Los Angeles for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Following the collapse of SNCC, Babu enrolled at Cal State, Los Angeles as a pre-law student. He is now enrolled in a special law program at UCLA and was involved directly with the student movement at UCLA without becoming involved in the power conflict between US and the Black Panthers. Babu recently went to Cuba and was expelled from the country along with several Black Panthers who were expelled from the country. Babu disclaims any working relationship with the Panthers and any direct involvement with those Panthers that just coincidentally, he says, were involved in the same flight to Cuba. Babu is believed by the Los Angeles Police Department to have been an eyewitness to the shootings at UCLA. However, he disclaims this.

Tut Hayes, background and origins unknown. He was a functioning member of the Afro-American Association and still claims membership in that organization, was very active in the Black Congress, often challenging Karenga's position in that organization. Hayes is never seen without one or sometimes two or three walkie-talkies, tape recorders and other types of communicating devices. It is strongly believed by many that he is a direct link with the Los Angeles Police Department. While developing the Afro-American Association as an organizational front, vocationally Karenga was employed by the Los Angeles City schools as a teacher. The Watts riots of 1965 proved to be the disintegrating factor of the Afro-American Association as the organization broke up with great bitterness and great animosity over discussions of such matters as who would be the one spokesman for militancy before TV cameras and to the press, whether all of the members were free to make whatever statements they wanted to make, and other matters of that

general nature. Again, it was a matter of Karenga feeling, according to discussions with people of the old Afro-American Alliance, that he should be the spokesman for the group. In October of 1965 the group officially folded and Karenga started his US organization. He was still on the payroll of the city schools. Originally he experienced great difficulty in the Watts area as the parochial groups in Watts felt that he was not within the Watts community and could not speak for Watts.

At this time -- and this is in the fall of 1965 and the spring of 1966 -- an organization called the Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations (TALO) was formed by the militant and moderate civil rights groups to face some of the problems of the black community. After a very brief and non-productive history, TALO disintegrated.

About this time Walter Bromond, who was ultimately to become the head of the Black Congress, came into Los Angeles with what was known as the Social Action Center (not related to the USC Center for Social Action). Funds for the Social Action Center were provided by the organized church structure. Karenga was one of the first consultants hired by the Social Action Center. This was the beginning of the relationship between Karenga and Bromond. The Social Action Center was an attempt to organize the black community somewhat along the principles advocated by Sol Levinsky. The Social Action Center lasted for approximately one year and upon failure of the Social Action Center the Black Congress was formed.

Karenga and Walter Bromond were the chief organizers of the Black Congress with Karenga playing a behind-the-scenes role and pushing Bromond to the forefront. The Black Congress advocated the principle of operational unity. Operational unity was a concept whereby the militant and moderate organizations were supposed to arbitrate their differences and form a united front in the black community. The roster of the organization did involve groups from all points on the spectrum; however, at times of crisis or confrontation the group usually assumed a militant posture. It is interesting to point out that the lease on the Black Congress building, which is a sizable piece of real estate in South Central Los Angeles, is in the name of Ron Karenga and US organization. The Black Congress, from its inception to the death of Martin Luther King, was a limited group speaking only to itself -- with a functional group basically composed of activists who were in

120

the covenant and would just go from one activity to another. However, following the death of Dr. King the Black Congress was given credit for keeping Los Angeles cool.

At this point media took a particular interest in the Black Congress and they were immediately projected as a viable and effective organization. Again, in August of last year following the Watts Festival where there was encounter between the community and the police department, the Black Congress was given credit for containing the magnitude of what happened in the following days. At this point moneys and other resources from the outside community began to pour into the Black Congress. Walter Bromond was projected as the head of the Black Congress. However, it was widely known that Ron Karenga was really the controlling factor.

In the fall of last year, which would be 1968, the Black Panther Party withdrew from the Black Congress. The reason given was that the Black Congress was showing favoritism to Ron Karenga and to US and that resources made available to the Congress were distributed according to the two-man dictate of Walter Bromond and Ron Karenga. It is at this point of resignation that the original friction between the Black Panther Party and US organization became a matter of public discussion. It is at this time also that community observers predicted an imminent shoot-out between the two groups. In the meantime Karenga had developed a high acceptability among many segments of the community. He was suddenly placed on various boards -- the California State Assembly Advisory Committee on Urban Affairs, the Community Advisory Group for the BSU at UCLA, Advisory Board of one of the preliminary groups of the Urban Coalition. He was widely used as a paid consultant on minority problems, not only in Southern California but throughout the country. He also developed a working relationship with U.S. Congressman Augustus Hawkins, who is the only black congressman west of the Mississippi.

A key project entered into with Hawkins is called UJIMA Village, a proposed shopping center and living complex to be built in South Central Los Angeles. The name UJIMA -- which is a Swahili word crudely translated meaning togetherness -- was object to a very intense confrontation between Karenga's forces and more conservative lay members of the community. Congressman Hawkins sided with Karenga and influenced the neighborhood groups to accept the name UJIMA. Walter Bromond

was also a member of this advisory group for UJIMA. Another prominent figure in this group and in other groups involved with community projects is Dr. Alfred Cannon, a psychologist at UCLA and a friend of Karenga's.

The Black Panther Party came into Los Angeles approximately the summer of 1966. Immediately upon the Panthers' setting up an operation in Los Angeles there was a competition between the Panthers and US organization for the black student unions at the high school and college levels and among organized youth groups. Prior to the coming of the Panthers, US organization was the one major group dealing with the youth groups and with the BSU's. There had been minor but insignificant efforts put forth by Robert Williams (Robaire) noted previously in this report as a founding member of the Afro-American Association and also noted to have had a shoot-out with Karenga on Thanksgiving of 1967.

When the Panthers came to Los Angeles, this was the first real competition that Karenga's organization had at the high school, college and youth group level. Karenga, however -- in a comment to one of the officials of the Black Panthers -- noted at the time that the Black Panthers joined the organization that they could never establish a power base in Los Angeles because this was "his country." However, step by step the Black Panther Party gained members in the Los Angeles community and by virtue of having members who were actually students enrolled on college campuses began to exert very strong influence with the BSU's. Noting this, early in 1968 Karenga began to hype his people into the EOP Program and other programs like the High Potential Program at UCLA. Congressman Hawkins' office, Dr. Al Cannon, Walter Bremond and the name and image of the Black Congress were used to help get members of Karenga's organization enrolled on the various college campuses.

In the early summer of 1968 SNICC withdrew from the Black Congress and got its own office space and office staff. The Black Student Alliance, which is a council of representatives of all BSU's in Southern California, also withdrew from the Black Congress. It was assumed at this time by many observers -- and I would put myself in that category -- that the student movement had taken a very strong pro-Panther position and that the student movement not only had made a choice between the Panthers and US but had also developed extreme bitterness and hostility toward Ron Karenga. This is illustrated by Professor Harry Truly, who at that



time was a professor at Cal State, L.A., who had been instrumental in establishing the Black Studies Program at Cal State, in developing the whole concept of black student unions in Southern California and who was the head of the Black Student Alliance. At the point of the Black Student Alliance resigning from the Black Congress, Truly publicly denounced Karenga and began a strong association with Eldridge Cleaver and the Black Panther Party in Oakland. Truly subsequently resigned from Cal State Los Angeles as a professor and went to teach at Claremont College in nearby Pomona. It is strongly rumored that Karenga's organization had threatened Truly's life and that he left the city apparently for his own safety. Just a few weeks ago before giving final examinations at Claremont College -- which was incidentally around the time of the slayings at UCLA -- Truly walked off the campus of Claremont College and his whereabouts are alleged to be unknown.

A first example of the effects of the split is a situation I was directly involved in. Following the incident at Valley State College, I organized a community meeting to allow the students of Valley State College, which is in the San Fernando Valley and far removed from Central City Los Angeles, to inform the community of the situation and problems at Valley State. I financed this rally and made all the arrangements. However, I had an agreement with the Black Students Union of Valley State College that I would not interfere with the program content of their rally, nor the personalities to be involved.

The rally was held at the Pasla Auditorium. It was held the Friday after Thanksgiving. I utilized the resources of the Los Angeles Sentinel newspaper and Radio Station KGFJ to develop an audience for this affair. Very early in the evening of the rally I realized that a situation of confrontation was evident. Black Panthers were there in large numbers selling Black Panther newspapers and distributing literature of the Black Panther organization. It was quite obvious to me that there was a congenial relationship between the students of the colleges and universities and the Black Panther Party. All of the speakers on the program were pro-Panther in their orientations with one exception. That exception was Ayuku Babu, also mentioned earlier in this report as a co-founder with Karenga of the Afro-American Association and who recently was expelled from Cuba. Babu's position was a position of neutrality whereby he was appealing for unity among all the brothers in the movement. There was a lot of misunderstanding on the part of some present as to what Babu was speaking of when he was speaking of the need for unity. It is apparent now that with his involvement he was more aware of

the pending crisis than many of the observers in the community. Now, approximately ten minutes before the program was to start a contingent of approximately 35 of Karenga's people arrived in the auditorium en masse. There were both male and female in the group. There were groans and other expressions of disfavor from people in the audience upon their arrival. I was then approached by Karenga's organization to use my influence to get them a speaker on the program. I held to my position of non-interference. Karenga's people then assigned one monitor to stay at the meeting and the rest of his people left. That monitor assigned to monitor this meeting was Claude Hubert, who is alleged -- according to Grand Jury indictment -- to be the trigger man in the UCLA slayings.

The next real indication of a brewing confrontation between the Black Panther party and US occurred approximately three weeks prior to the UCLA slayings. At that time a rally was held at South Park to raise funds through the Black Student Alliance for college students arrested in various campus confrontations. At that particular time some six Los Angeles area colleges were involved in confrontations between BSL's and college administration. Again, I had personal involvement in this matter by using Radio Station KGFJ to build up an audience for this rally. Coincidentally, my residence is directly across the street from South Park and throughout the morning of the rally Karenga's organization was observed scouting the area. Upon the beginning of the program at South Park where representatives of the BSL's in confrontation were speaking, again the flavor was pro-Panther.

Having observed Karenga's organization scouting the Park throughout the morning, it was very strange to me that at the beginning of the program none of his people were present. However, soon after the program began, his members began to drift in two and three at a time. It is necessary to clear up that South Park has an open speaking forum with an open-air stage and seating arranged in a fan shape from that stage. The Park seats approximately 700 people and all the seats were filled; there was a sizable standing room audience. As Karenga's people began to come in one by one, they spread themselves in a semi-circle surrounding the outer perimeter of the seats. Normally Karenga's organization wears what is called the buba as the top outer garment. On this particular day each of his members had on coats over their bubas and it was assumed by most that they were armed on this occasion. Upon the appearance of approximately 20 of Karenga's

men, Al Prentice "Bunchy" Carter, one of the slain Panthers, called a conference of about eight of the top lieutenants of the Panther Party, including John Higgins, the other slain Panther, and Shermont Banks, Southern California head of the Panther Party. Following this conference, Black Panther members were dispatched around members of US organization. Several people at this point began to leave the Park. However, no incident occurred.

The next knowledge of anything involving the Panthers and US that is known is the Wednesday before the shooting at UCLA, at which time it was noted that Karenga was booted off the campus of UCLA and told by the students that he did not represent their interests. Following that Wednesday night, a top-scale secret meeting was held by Karenga's organization in the Black Congress building. An unusually heavy guard was posted around the building and all members of the Black Congress not members of US organization were asked to leave the building. The following Friday the incident occurred at UCLA. One bit of information presented to the Los Angeles Grand Jury and substantially verified by myself is that one of the statements that led to the indictment was by a student of UCLA, who told the Grand Jury of hearing a representative of Karenga's organization state on the Wednesday prior to the shooting: "If something goes down at UCLA, we are going to have to off Bunchy."

Now the slaying at UCLA points up a very serious breach between Karenga's stated philosophy and his actual activities. It is known and substantiated by Los Angeles Police Department intelligence reports that Karenga transports his simbas and others to a shooting range in Palmdale, California, twice weekly. The Stiner brothers and Claude Hubert, the alleged trigger men, are known to be the top marksmen of the US organization. Karenga also has his men go through extensive judo training and karate training. It is known and conceded that Karenga's men are always armed, and there is no record of any of his men ever being picked up on a concealed weapons charge.

An incident which occurred in Newark, New Jersey, told to me by Louis Lomax, has it that while Karenga and a group of ten of his members were in a motel in Newark, New Jersey, the cleaning maid found guns in the motel room and called the Newark police. A call from Newark to Chief of Police Tom Reddin in Los Angeles simply produced a statement by Reddin that he was aware that the group was armed

and to leave them alone. Following the shooting at UCLA and during the Grand Jury investigation which led to the indictment of five US members, there was a confrontation outside the courtroom between approximately ten members of US and four members of the Black Panther Party. The US members threatened the Black Panther members and backed them against the wall through a series of karate-type moves. At the point that the Panthers began to defend themselves, the Los Angeles Police Department -- which had been witnessing the whole situation -- stepped in and threatened to arrest the members of the Black Panther Party for disturbing the peace. The Black Panther Party is of the opinion that US organization has the protection of the police and that the police are using US organization to provoke the Panthers into a move so that the Police Department can wipe out the Black Panther movement in Los Angeles. The Panthers point out that to date no weapons have been seized from US organization, though US is carrying weapons around daily.

There is a number of alleged beatings of Black Panthers by US members since the UCLA shooting. Raymond Hewitt, alias Masai, who was a member of Robaire's organization, noted earlier in this report and wounded in the Thanksgiving shoot-out, also earlier reported here, who is now a top official in the Black Panther Party of Southern California due to the deaths of Carter and Huggins, was assaulted on last Tuesday by four members of US organization. Los Angeles Police Department ambulance service refused to take him to the hospital, saying that he was not sufficiently injured and he should see a private physician. The Black Alumni Association of UCLA has issued a public statement asking for more police protection for black students on UCLA campus from intimidation by US organization.

US organization, at that point, has little community support. In fact, Karenga had developed a sizable following in the community by virtue of his intellectualizing of black awareness. However, many people in the community saw Karenga as a peaceful intellectual militant. This situation has changed. It is very doubtful at this time that Karenga will be able to function effectively in the town again. This opinion is based upon conversation with activists in the movement, leaders of 13 BSL's in Southern California and with the guys in the streets -- meaning the hustlers, the ex-convicts, some of the street gangs and others. It should be noted here that Al Prentice "Bunchy" Carter was a 16-time loser and whereas the Police Department is considering the possibility of retaliation on the part of the Black Panther Party, their great fear is the street element would make moves to advance Carter's death. For that reason there is a fear that Karenga's life is in jeopardy and in danger in the City of Los Angeles.

126

At this point it is estimated that Karenga's membership is actually around 100. There are, however, others who are not members of US organization but who are influenced in a programmatic way by the teachings of Karenga and the rituals of the organization. About one-third of these 100 people are female members of the organization indoctrinated to be docile and submissive. Approximately 40 of these are simbas or young lions. The organization holds Sunday meetings known as soul sessions. They also have weekly meetings known as advocacy, at which time their beliefs in the doctrines and rituals of US organization are reinforced. Earlier in the development of the organization rituals were highly cultic, but lately the organization has taken on many of the characteristics of the black church and added rock and roll music and other social patterns of the black community. The organization uses the publication called "The Quotable Karenga" as the textbook of its ideology.

Karenga has fed many members of his organization into community organizations, businesses and political campaigns. To do this he has abandoned the custom of having all of his men wear bald heads. They are not forced to wear bubas at all times now. The ladies in his organization are not asked to wear traditional African garb and in fact are now allowed to wear minishirts and dress fashionably. Karenga's mode of operation is one of taking the high road verbally, speaking of peace and cultural nationalism. However, while saying this, his organization is paramilitary in nature and is known to deal in intimidation and physical assault.

It is strongly believed that Karenga is on the payroll of Mayor Sam Yorty and it is to be noted that Mayor Yorty issued a major proclamation recently alleging a communist conspiracy in the colleges and in the black community in terms of the black movement. The statement was released on a Thursday. On the Sunday prior to that release Karenga held a major lecture at the Black Congress building entitled "The Red Book -- Its Relevance or Irrelevancy." The content of that lecture was highly synonymous with the content of the Yorty report. Karenga has developed the technique now of being behind the scenes and directing people who have legitimate acceptance in the community.

In terms of payroll, a projection of Karenga's expenditures for the year 1968 would be as follows: In rent for himself and members of his organization for three apartments in an apartment building on 10th Avenue he is paying \$500 a month totally, or \$6,000 a year. For two apartments in a building on 8th Avenue he is paying \$250 a month, or \$3,000 a year. For two offices -- one on 83rd & Broadway,

the other at 4020 Buczynski Road, he is said to have an approximate expense of \$350 a month for each, which comes to approximately \$8,400 a year. His standard salary for those members of his upper organization on payroll is said to be \$80 a week, of which there are at least 12 known to be on this payroll, which would be approximately \$50,000. This does not include living expenses for Karenga and other organization expenses.

For instance, at the Black Power Convention just held in Philadelphia no less than 23 US members were present. Of these <sup>10</sup> are known to have gone by plane and it is known that four were taken to the airport by Willard Murray, black administrative assistant to Mayor Sam Yorty. Others are known to have traveled across the country in Volkswagen bus. It is also widely rumored that Karenga has other properties purchased through funds gained through the US movement.

Karenga now has an alliance with LeRoi Jones of Newark, New Jersey. They put together a political program in Newark which was assisted by riotous through a benefit. They are moving on several fronts nationally. One is alleged to be in East St. Louis where seven traveling salesmen were shot some three weeks ago. They were shot by a group called the Mighty Warlords. The leader of the Mighty Warlords is the boyfriend of the sister of Harry Edwards. Harry Edwards is a native of East St. Louis, a member of the Black Panther Party and advisor to the Mighty Warlords. Ten days prior to the shooting, Edwards had come into East St. Louis from Cornell University to meet with the Warlords. It is strongly believed that there is a direct relationship between the Black Panther-US feud in Southern California and the East St. Louis shootings. My investigation has revealed that the Los Angeles Police Department has had a man in East St. Louis for ten days. That man, upon returning to Los Angeles, met with me and in our discussions it became apparent to me that there is a direct relationship and that the Los Angeles Police Department is very aware of this.

There has been some discussion about a school that Karenga holds. The only school that I am familiar with is the Saturday morning school for young children held at the Black Congress building, which is an indoctrination into the rituals of the US organization and does not make an attempt to deal with black awareness on an objective plane. There is also the possibility that Karenga is seeking scholarship aid for members of his organization on the GOP program and other college entrance programs for minority students.

It is alleged also that Karenga is a hyp and that he is also a homosexual, and it is alleged in connection with this that L.A. Police Department uses these two factors to control Karenga.

At the present moment Karenga has been seen in public once since the assassinations at UCLA. The Grand Jury was not successful in trying to subpoena him during its hearings, the result of which five of his members have been indicted for conspiracy to commit murder. According to spokesmen of the L.A. Police Department on Thursday -- the official Los Angeles Police Department position on Ron Karenga is that his whereabouts are unknown.

# ROUTE II ENVELOPE

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

September 17, 1969

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1286

LA-116

REC-68

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(US)

*[Handwritten signature]*

Reurairtel 9/8/69.

San Diego is authorized to send the letter set out in reairtel to Ron Karenga, head of the organization US, with the following changes noted below.

The Bureau feels the letter as set out should be more general in nature. To accomplish this, San Diego should delete from paragraph two, line four, "which was attended by 10 of the brothers." Also delete the signature, making the letter anonymous.

Since we do not know the exact method of communication between Karenga and the head of US's women's auxiliary, it is felt we should not use her name as the signer of the letter. Deleting the phrase set out above will make it less certain this letter was written by a person at the meeting in question.

San Diego is authorized to send the amended letter, unless there is a compelling reason not to utilize the above changes. In that case, the Bureau should be so advised. Take the usual precautions to insure this letter cannot be traced to the Bureau.

MAILED 9

SEP 16 1969

COMM-FBI

2 - Los Angeles

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*

98 SEP 26 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

130



Letter to SAC, San Diego  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
(US)  
100-448006

For the information of Los Angeles, the letter to be sent the head of US complains about the presence of three white men at an US meeting, which is contrary to the policy of the head of US, Ron Karenga. Los Angeles should be alert for results of this letter.

NOTE:

This letter might thus cause problems for the leadership of the San Diego chapter; however, as set out, the letter was specific in nature and was signed. Karenga could thus have checked with the alleged signer of the letter to determine it was fictitious. US is a black extremist organization with headquarters in Los Angeles, California.

F B I

Date: 9/8/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(US)*no frising*For the information of the Bureau on \_\_\_\_\_  
[REDACTED]

In a notebook found in the possession of a known US member, KARENGA has written that, concerning white people, they are divided into known categories. The "faddist" who is a white liberal that wants to identify with whatever field is a fad, the "guilt ridden" who is described as a white boy who says that white people have treated black people like animals and he wants to help black people obtain their freedom, and numerous other categories.

KARENGA has also talked on numerous occasions that no white people are to be allowed at any meetings of US. In view of the fact that three white individuals attended a meeting of US, presumably at the invitation of [REDACTED], it is felt that the following letter directed to RON KARENGA might be beneficial in casting doubt upon the reliability and subordination of [REDACTED]. The letter will read:

1 - 806P  
② - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)  
2 - San Diego

REC-68

1286

(4)

EX-116-116

10 SEP 10 1969

*D. J. M. v.*  
RACIAL INT. SEC.

Approved: E/  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

132

Maulana:

We here in San Diego have a potential problem I wish to advise you of which seems to demand some kawaida.

[REDACTED], who has always preached that no white devils will be allowed in the hekalu, has not only acted contrary to his teachings, but has invited some white faddists to a meeting which was attended by 10 of the brothers.

These guilt ridden faddists, representing themselves as ACLU attorneys, presented the classic example of the type of white men you have taught us about.

Nothing but evil can possibly come from their invited presence among the bloods. I do not have the authority to do anything about the situation and two of the Simbas with whom I have spoken about the situation are too fearful of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to do anything about it themselves. You, Maulana, are the only one who can straighten this problem out for us.

Mumminina Ajabu

For the additional information of the Bureau [REDACTED] mentioned above is [REDACTED] in San Diego. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] is the spokesman for the [REDACTED] of the US organization.

It is felt that the above letter will tend to instill some doubts in the mind of KARENGA concerning the credibility of the leadership of the San Diego US chapter and might possibly result in what the leadership would consider unjustifiable criticism.

Bureau permission is requested to type the above letter on commercially purchased stationery and mail it to RON KARENGA in Los Angeles.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

9/18/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1285

EX-116 REC-68

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(US)

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

*Handwritten signature*

Reurairtel 9/8/69.

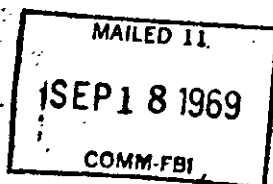
Authority is granted to advise [REDACTED], Criminal Investigative Section, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), of the fact that US is a corporation, the identity of the corporate officers and their addresses, in order to determine whether this corporation or its chapters have filed IRS Form 1120. Bureau authority is necessary, however, to obtain a copy of this form if one has been filed and the copy must be obtained at Seat of Government.

[REDACTED] (6) *feb*

## NOTE:

US is a black extremist group based in Los Angeles with a chapter in San Diego. Los Angeles has determined that the organization is incorporated and by law all corporations are required to file Form 1120 with IRS annually. [REDACTED] has cooperated with the Bureau on prior matters of mutual interest and is considered by San Diego to be reliable and discreet. If US has not complied with the law in filing this form, IRS prosecution would help neutralize this extremist group. This matter has been coordinated with the Liaison Section.

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel



*Handwritten notes and signatures*  
100-448006-1285  
T-80

SEP 26 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

134

F B I

Date: 9/8/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(US)

Re San Diego airtel to the Bureau 7/16/69, and  
Bureau letter to San Diego 7/23/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of the Articles  
of Incorporation of US as furnished by the Los Angeles Division.

The current residence of RONALD EVERETT, aka  
RON KARENGA, and [REDACTED] is 3500 West 59th  
Place, Los Angeles. The current residence of [REDACTED]  
is [REDACTED]

As indicated in referenced San Diego airtel to the  
Bureau, [REDACTED] has advised that any corporation is  
required by law to file what is referred to as a Form 1120 each  
year. This form must be filed whether or not the corporation  
has had any income.

[REDACTED] has formerly cooperated with the  
Bureau in investigations concerning gambling and related  
violations within the San Diego Division and is considered to  
be reliable and discreet.

2 - Bureau (Enc. - 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)  
2 - San Diego

(4)

ENCLOSURE

REC-68

EX-116

10 SEP 10 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

135

In view of the above information, Bureau permission is requested to supply [REDACTED] with the fact that the US organization is in fact a corporation along with the identities of the three individuals mentioned above. Permission is also requested to have [REDACTED] determine if US has filed the required Form 1120 with an end toward a possible complaint being filed by Internal Revenue Service in the event no filing has been recorded.

Permission is also requested to determine if it is necessary for each existing office of a corporation to file independent Form 1120s and, if so, determine through [REDACTED] whether or not the San Diego chapter of US has complied with this law.

515043

FILED

In the office of the Secretary of State  
of the State of California

SEP 13 1966

FRANK J. FORD, Secretary of State

*[Signature]*  
Deputy

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENT:

That we, the undersigned, have this day voluntarily associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under the laws of the State of California, as a non-profit corporation under the provision of Part 1 of Division 2, Title 1, of the Corporations Code,

AND THAT WE HEREBY CERTIFY:

FIRST: That that the name of the corporation is: "US" Incorporated.

SECOND: The purpose or purposes for which this corporation is formed are as follows:

(a) The specific and primary purposes are to advise and by every lawful means to assist the Afroamerican people in their efforts to unite as persons and groups (UAAJA),

(b) To assist the Afroamerican people in obtaining Self Determination by education, culture and economic development (KUJI-CHAQULIA),

(c) To operate for the advancement of education and to teach the Afroamerican people by education and demonstrate value of collective work and responsibility (UJIFIA),

(d) To assist and instruct the Afroamerican

157-28-695

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 10 1969	
FBI - SAN DIEGO	

-1-  
ENCLOSURE

137

1 setting up and operating a system of co-operative economics(UJAFSA),  
2 by education and demonstration,

3 (e) To instill in the Afroamerican people the need and  
4 value of creativity(KUUNBA) by education and demonstration,

5 (f) To give the Afroamerican people a sense of purpose  
6 (NIA) based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an  
7 Afroamerican culture,

8 (g) To instill in the Afroamerican people an appreciation  
9 for faith(IMANI) in themselves, personally, and their race, collec-  
10 tively, in their efforts to build and maintain a community of values  
11 such as their cultural legacies,

12 (h) In addition to the above primary purposes, the corp-  
13 oration shall have the following general purposes and powers:

14 (1) To build and maintain Afroamerican cultural centers  
15 as places to teach culture and serve as meeting places for exchange  
16 of ideas and information,

17 (2) To operate for the advancement of education by set-  
18 ting up and establishing schools, class rooms, instructors to teach  
19 such subjects as African and Afroamerican history, African languages,  
20 Afroamerican culture and other related subjects,

21 (3) To research, teach, instruct and re-educate the Afro-  
22 american people to African religion and to add new values to said  
23 religion; and to build, establish, set up, rent, lease or purchase  
24 buildings, lands and shrines, temples and other edifices for the  
25 practice, teaching and instruction and promotion of aforesaid men-  
26 tioned African religion; teach comparative religion,

27 (4) To aim and assist the Afroamerican people of slave  
28 descent, by any means necessary, in CULTIVATING and strengthening  
29 THE principle and practice of 'SELF HELP' as a people; DESTROYING  
30 the myths and misbeliefs that made Afroamerican people think that  
31 they have nothing in common with Africans; BUILDING a feeling of  
32 dignity and pride upon the realization of the contributions of Afro-



1 americans and Africans to the world; BRINGING Afroamerican youth  
2 together with a new sense of purpose and identity, and thus elimi-  
3 nating school dropouts by showing them that their people need their  
4 knowledge and education as much as they themselves to assist the  
5 uneducated Afroamericans in the knowledge of him self and his cul-  
6 ture, and converting the negative forces of 'gangs' into a positive  
7 and constructive force for Afroamericans,

8 (5) To engage in any activity, undertaking, business, or  
9 venture as shall assist or be pertinent to the carrying out of the  
10 objects and purposes of this corporation,

11 (6) To own, hold, possess, purchase, acquire, lease,  
12 rent, install, maintain, and operate, and from time to time to sell,  
13 dispose of, exchange and replace such equipment, facilities and  
14 other personal property as may be required for the uses and pur-  
15 poses aforesaid,

16 (7) To engage, employ, retain and/or discharge, subject  
17 to the approval of the EXECUTIVE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, such instruc-  
18 tors, managing directors, specialists and/or personnel as may be  
19 necessary for the proper conduct of the business for which this  
20 corporation is organized,

21 (8) To receive and hold by gift, devise, bequest or  
22 grant, donations or contributions for scientific, educational and  
23 charitable purposes, or for the benefit or endowment of any of t  
24 he activities of this corporation,

25 (9) To receive and hold by gift; and to receive any dona-  
26 tions or bequest made for particular purposes accordant with the  
27 objects and purposes of this corporation and in such case or cases  
28 to receive such donations or divires and to hold and use the same  
29 in conformity with the expressed conditions of the donors or devi-  
30 sors,

31 (10) To act as Trustee under any trust created to furn-  
32 ish funds for the principal objects of the corporation and to re-

1 ceive, hold, administer and expend funds and property subject to  
2 such trust,

3 (11) To take in by affiliation or otherwise any other  
4 similar or other organization or association on such terms and con-  
5 ditions as may be agreed upon and to make the same a branch or ad-  
6 junct of this organization, or to maintain the same as a sepearte  
7 organization,

8 (12) To purchase, lease, acquire and to operate property,  
9 including real estate, building and equipment and to sell, convey,  
10 exchange, lease, transfer upon trust, give liens upon by way of  
11 mortgage and/or trust deed; lease and otherwise dispose of all real  
12 estate, personal property, personal estate, property, buildings  
13 and equipment,

14 (13) To conduct a bureau or bureaus for disseminating  
15 information pertaining to the activities of this corporation, and  
16 to establish committees for such activities, and to publish, sell  
17 and distribute such literature as may be advisable to promote the  
18 main objects and purposes for which this corporation is formed and  
19 to cause the publication of printed matter and public addresses  
20 and utilization of all available public media to carry out the ob-  
21 jects and purposes of this corporation and to contract for the em-  
22 ployment of persons and writers to compile literature pertaining  
23 thereto and to conduct clinics, lectures and programs in connection  
24 therewith,

25 (14) To improve, manage, develop, sell, assign, transfer,  
26 lease, mortgage, pledge or otherwise dispose of or turn to account  
27 or deal with all or any part of the property of the corporation  
28 and from time to time to vary any investment or employment of cap-  
29 ital of the corporation,

30 (15) To provide for the payment of all necessary oper-  
31 ating expenses and other bills as may be from time to time deter-  
32 mined to be necessary by the Board of Directors,

1 (16) To borrow money and to make and issue notes, bonds,  
2 debentures, obligations and evidences of indebtedness of all kinds,  
3 whether secured by mortgage, pledge or otherwise, without limit as  
4 to amount and to secure the same by mortgage, pledge or otherwise;  
5 and generally to make and perform agreements and contracts of  
6 every kind and description,

7 (17) To make contracts, to purchase or otherwise acquire,  
8 operate, control, sell or otherwise dispose of, lease, hold, own,  
9 let, sublet, rent, hypothecate, manage, improve, develop and to  
10 generally deal in and deal with lands and other property, improved  
11 and unimproved, construct buildings thereon, and to change and to  
12 generally improve the same,

13 (18) To do all and everything necessary, suitable, and  
14 proper for the accomplishment of any of the purposes or the attain-  
15 ment of any of the objects for the furtherance of any of the powers  
16 heretofore set forth, either alone or in association with other  
17 corporations, firms or individuals and to establish and operate and  
18 branches of this corporation for the promotion of the objects and  
19 purposes of this corporation, and to do every other act or acts,  
20 thing or things incidental or appurtenant to or growing out of or  
21 connected with the aforesaid business or powers or any part or  
22 parts thereof, provided the same be not inconsistent with the law  
23 under which this corporation is organized,

24 (19) The business or purpose of the corporation is from  
25 time to time to do any one or more of any of the acts and things  
26 that a non-profit corporation organized under the aforesaid title  
27 may lawfully do and generally to do all things requisite, by any  
28 means necessary and expedient for the administration and attain-  
29 ment of the purposes of this corporation,

30 (20) To conduct and carry on the said business or any  
31 part thereof and to have one or more offices and to exercise any  
32 or all of its corporate powers and rights as a non-profit corpor-

1     ation in the State of California or in any of the States, districts,  
2     territories or colonies of the United States and in any and all  
3     foreign countries, subject to the laws of such state, district,  
4     territory, colony, or country,

5     (21) THAT THIS CORPORATION DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE PECUNIARY  
6     GAIN OR PROFIT TO THE MEMBERS THEREOF, AND THAT THE FUNDS OF THIS  
7     CORPORATION, WHETHER RECEIVED BY GIFT OR OTHERWISE AND REGARDLESS  
8     OF THE SOURCE THEREOF, SHALL BE USED EXCLUSIVELY IN THE PROMOTION  
9     OF THE BUSINESS OF THE CORPORATION, AS THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS MAY  
10    FROM TIME TO TIME DETERMINE.

11    THIRD: That the County in the State of California where  
12    the principal office for the transaction of the business of this  
13    corporation is to be located is LOS ANGELES COUNTY.

14    FOURTH: The powers of this corporation shall be exercised  
15    its properties controlled, and the general management of the affairs  
16    of this corporation and the supervision and direction shall be con-  
17    ducted by a board to be known as the Board of Directors.

18    FIFTH: The number of Directors of this corporation shall  
19    be ~~three~~(3) and the said number may be changed by a duly adopted  
20    amendment to the Articles of Incorporation.

21    The name and addresses of the persons who are appointed  
22    to act as the first directors and the Executive Board of this cor-  
23    poration, and to continue to act as such Directors and the Executive  
24    Board until the election and qualification of their successors, are  
25    as follows:

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>ADDRESSES</u>
<u>ROBALDENHART</u>	<u>1618 So. la Brea, Los Angeles 19</u> <u>Apt. 1, Calif.</u>
<u>SAMUEL E. TARR</u>	<u>2014 So. Figueroa, Los Angeles 1</u> <u>Calif.</u>
<u>RACHA LORRAINE EVERETT</u>	<u>1618 So. la Brea, Los Angeles 19,</u> <u>Apt. 1, Calif.</u>

1            SIXTH: That the authorized number and qualifications of  
2 the members and the qualifications of the directors of this cor-  
3 poration may be set forth in the By-Laws of the Corporation and the  
4 different classes of membership in the corporation, if any, together  
5 with the respective voting and other rights and priveledges of each  
6 class of said membership, are to be set forth and provisions there-  
7 for made in the By-Laws of this corporation and the By-Laws are to  
8 set forth and make provision for the election and the term of office  
9 of the Board of Directors.

10            SEVENTH: THIS CORPORATION IS ONE WHICH DOES NOT CONTEM-  
11 PLATE PECUNIARY GAIN OR PROFIT TO THE MEMBERS THEREOF AND NO PART  
12 OF THE EARNINGS OF WHICH IS TO INURE TO THE BENEFIT OF ANY MEMBER  
13 OR INDIVIDUAL AND IT IS ORGANIZED SOLELY FOR NONPROFIT PURPOSES.  
14 Upon the winding up and dissolution of this corporation, after pay-  
15 ing or adequately providing for the debts and obligations of the  
16 corporation, the remaining assets shall be distributed to a non-  
17 profit fund, corporation or foundation, which is organized and ope-  
18 rated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious and/or  
19 scientific purposes and which has established its tax exemption  
20 status under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. If  
21 this corporation holds any assets in trust, such assets shall be  
22 disposed of in such manner as may be directed by decree of the  
23 Superior Court of the County in which this corporation's principal  
24 office is located, upon petition thereof by the Attorney General  
25 or by any person concerned in its liquidation.

26            This corporation is organized pursuant to the General  
27 Nonprofit Corporation Law of the State of California.

28            EIGHTH: That the private property of the members shall  
29 not be subject to the payment of corporate debts.

30            This corporation reserves the right to amend, alter, re-  
31 change or repeal any provisions contained in these Articles of  
32

1 Incorporation in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by Title 1,  
2 Part 8, Chapter 1, of the Corporation Code of the State of Calif-  
3 ornia and all rights conferred upon members herein are granted sub-  
4 ject to this reservation.

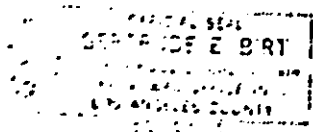
5 IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned, being the persons  
6 hereinafter named as the first Directors, have executed these  
7 Articles of Incorporation, this 23rd day of June, 1966.

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9  
10 Ronald Everett  
11 Samuel Melvin Chase  
12 Frederic Lawrence Elliott  
13  
14

15 STATE OF CALIFORNIA )  
16 COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES ) ss

17 On this 23rd day of June, 1966, before me,  
18 Frederic L. Birt, a Notary Public for the State of Calif-  
19 ornia, and the County of Los Angeles, personally appeared  
20 Ronald Everett, Samuel Melvin Chase,  
21 and Frederic Lawrence Elliott, known to me to be the persons  
22 whose names are subscribed to the within Articles of Incorporation,  
23 and acknowledge to me that they executed the same.

24 IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed  
25 my official seal on the day and year first above written.



26 Frederic L. Birt  
27 Notary Public in and for said  
28 County and State.

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# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

CODE

September 18, 1969

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

TO SAC SAN DIEGO (100-14192)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST -  
HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE, (US)

REURTEL SEPTEMBER EIGHTEEN INSTANT. AUTHORITY GRANTED TO  
CONFIDENTIALLY FURNISH INFORMATION RE USE OF SAN DIEGO STATE  
COLLEGE FACILITIES BY US TO [REDACTED] REPRESENTATIVE OF  
GOVERNOR REAGAN'S OFFICE. INSURE SHE UNDERSTANDS BUREAU  
CANNOT BE REVEALED AS SOURCE OF INFORMATION. ADVISE OF

RESULTS. FOR INFORMATION, BUREAU FILES CONTAIN NO DEROGATORY  
DATA RE [REDACTED] EX-116 REC-68 100-448006-1284

SEP 19 1969

(4)

NOTE: US is a black extremist organization that has been  
involved in violence. San Diego has learned this group, using  
San Diego State College facilities for mimeographing and as  
source of office supplies. [REDACTED] will be in San Diego  
for one day only, September 19, to investigate use of State  
facilities to further black extremist activities. This action  
would cut off assistance to US and San Diego advises security  
of informants and confidential basis for furnishing information  
are both secured. Teletype utilized in view of time element.

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Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

VIA TELETYPE  
den  
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98 SEP 26 1969  
TELETYPE UNIT

98 SEP 26 1969

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145

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006 Sub-13)

DATE: 9-15-69

FROM : SAC, DENVER (157-199) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)  
Buded: 9-16-69

Re Denver letter of August 14, 1969.

No specific proposal is being made at this time. The Denver Black Panther Party is on the verge of collapse. Since referenced letter [REDACTED] have been expelled. The Denver Black Panther Party is now completely dominated by the West Coast group and is receiving very little help from the Negro community. This is due in part to a disagreement with Denver's only [REDACTED], who made the statement the Panthers should be run out of town.

The Panthers printed slanderous statements against [REDACTED] who in turn has threatened to sue the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] also claims threats have been made against him which he reported to the Chief of Police of the Denver Police Department.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Denver  
[REDACTED]

(3)

66-111

REC- 65

100-448006-128

SEP 17 1969



59 SEP 29 1969

F109

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

33 SEP 17 1969

0.11

146



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/18/69

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BPP)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *classification*  
DATE *9-14-77*

Re San Diego letter to the Bureau 8/29/69,  
San Diego airtel to the Bureau 8/29/69, San Diego airtel  
to the Bureau 9/8/69, Bureau letter to San Diego 9/9/69,  
and Bureau letter to San Diego 9/11/69.

## I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

At the present time there are two requests for  
counterintelligence action awaiting Bureau evaluation. Both  
of these requests concern the US organization.

In view of the recent killing of BPP member SYLVESTER  
BELL, a new cartoon is being considered in the hopes that  
it will assist in the continuance of the rift between BPP  
and US. This cartoon, or series of cartoons, will be similar  
in nature to those formerly approved by the Bureau and will  
be forwarded to the Bureau for evaluation and approval  
immediately upon their completion.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - San Diego

REC- 66

EX 106

3 SEP 22 1969

Classified by *2047*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification *Indefinite*

53 SEP 29 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED [REDACTED]

One of the Bureau approved anonymous telephone calls has been placed to [REDACTED] protesting the BPP Breakfast Program and [REDACTED] participation therein. This particular call, originally scheduled to be third in a series of three calls, was made first due to the fact that this particular call appears to be more timely at this time in order to achieve maximum affect. Tangible results concerning this activity appear in the next section of this letter.

The intensive interview program of BPP members is continuing in the San Diego Division. The specific tangible results thus far observed concerning the interview program are very difficult to assess.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

The BPP Breakfast Program appears to be floundering in San Diego due to lack of public support and unfavorable publicity concerning it. It is noted that it has presently been temporarily suspended. Therefore, it was felt that placing the above mentioned anonymous call to the Bishop at this particular time might be a significant factor in precluding the resumption of the program. The information to the Bishop appeared to be favorably received and he seemed to be quite concerned over the fact that one of his Priests was deeply involved in utilization of church facilities for this purpose. This matter, of course, will be closely followed for further anticipated developments concerning the Breakfast Program.

Shootings, beatings, and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this over-all situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Information concerning the possibility of US headquarters being bombed on the weekend of 8/30/69, was furnished to the San Diego Police Department prior to the actual bombing. It is felt that the furnishing of this information might have been a major factor in precluding any injury of innocent persons at the time the actual bombing took place.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The "gang type" war between the BPP and US continues at the present time.

It also appears there is increased unrest within the ranks of the BPP in San Diego and reports have been received concerning very severe punishments being administered to members who do not perform as the leaders of the party believe they should. For example, [REDACTED] has reportedly been severely beaten by BPP officials for failure to return gunfire at the assailant at the time JOHN SAVAGE was fatally shot. [REDACTED] was "beaten up" for failure to abide by instructions given her by visiting BPP members of the Los Angeles area. Other similar incidents have also been noted, all apparently in an effort to establish more rigid discipline within the ranks of the party.

On 8/30/69, the new US headquarters building at 4183 Market Street, San Diego, was bombed through utilization of a pipe bomb. The device was made of 1½" pipe, capped at both ends, and filled with shotgun powder. No injuries were sustained but damage was extensive. No suspects have been arrested. However, it is believed that the BPP is responsible for the bombing. Efforts are being made to determine how this situation can be capitalized upon for the benefit of the Counterintelligence Program and any possibilities will immediately be submitted for approval by the Bureau.

[REDACTED]

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443006)

DATE: 9/16/69

WJH  
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)  
RMS

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Los Angeles letter to the Bureau dated 8/25/69,  
and Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 7/30/69.

## COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN EFFECT AGAINST THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Counterintelligence operation mentioned in referenced  
communication has been placed in effect against the Black  
Panther Party (BPP).

Members of the BPP continue to be interviewed in  
the hope that this program will cause some concern and  
disruption among the members of the BPP.

## COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

All arrests of members of the BPP continue to be  
followed looking for violations of the anti-riot and gun  
control laws to determine if any of these individuals might  
be prosecuted under Federal and State laws. Logical sporting  
goods stores and firearms outlets have been contacted and  
liaison is being maintained to attempt to determine which  
members of the BPP are buying firearms.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS OBTAINED

Sources have reported no overt reactions due to  
operations now in effect in the Los Angeles area.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 157-1618)

REC- 65

EX-100

SEP 22 1969

RACIAL INT

(4)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

150

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: September 17, 1969

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re: New Haven letter, 9/3/69.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration

No definite counterintelligence program is being considered pending reorganization of the Connecticut chapters.

## 2. Operations Being Effectuated

As authorized by the Bureau, New Haven will continue to furnish public source data to approved press representatives. New Haven will remain alert for those incidents or circumstances which may lend themselves to counterintelligence exploitation.

The New Haven Division is pursuing those investigations which will lead to successful prosecution of BPP members and leadership at the Federal or local level.

[REDACTED] BPP, Boston, was apprehended on a Federal Bench warrant at BPP New Haven Headquarters by FBI Agents, assisted by U.S. Marshals and local authorities, on 9/12/69, on charges of threatening a Federal officer and intimidating a witness. The bench warrant was issued following the return of a two count indictment by a Federal Grand Jury on 9/11/69 (New Haven file 26-15342 refers).

This arrest enabled the apprehending Agents to search BPP New Haven Headquarters to perform a cursory search for weapons. None were located, leading to the conclusion that either BPP New Haven members have not acquired any weapons or that more probably these weapons are stored in another location.

(2) - Bureau  
2 - New Haven

EX-116 REC 9

(4) REGISTERED MAIL

18 SEP 19 1969

59 SEP 26 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-01

151

### 3. Tangible Results

Of counterintelligence interest is the fact that reliable informants have advised that BPP New Haven had planned to rent a store for a BPP office sometime in September. [REDACTED] during the arrest by FBI Agents on 9/12/69, was also arrested by New Haven police for breach of the peace, and abusing a police officer for his conduct at the time of the arrest. A \$200 bond was set by the New Haven authorities and was posted by the BPP New Haven. A reliable source advised that the BPP had intended to use the \$200 used for [REDACTED] bond for the rent of another apartment to use as a "crib" and were not now financially able to rent the apartment.

### 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

It is apparent that BPP National has elected to reorganize BPP New Haven, probably in anticipation of the upcoming murder trial involving Chairman BOBBY SEALE and other Panthers. By separate communications, the Bureau has been advised that several BPP functionaries from the New York, Boston and Baltimore areas have been ordered into New Haven to organize.

One recently arrived Panther from Boston, [REDACTED], has been delegated to establish a Breakfast for Children Program in New Haven. To this end [REDACTED] has initiated a program of sending letters and personally visiting several businesses in the New Haven area to solicit donations. This program will be aggressively followed and exploited if possible.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/18/69

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACS, Newark (100-49654)  
New York (100-161140)  
San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
BUDED: 9/26/69

ReNYairtel and LHM dated 8/25/69 captioned  
"Black Panther Party (BPP), Newark Division, RM; [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] RM - BPP."

Referenced LHM concerned a copy of an official BPP paper reportedly issued by Bobby Seale. The statement is believed to be the official BPP reply to plans of [REDACTED] to initiate a new and separate movement labeled "Black Nationalist Party." Among other things, Seale's statement accuses [REDACTED] of blowing up the New Jersey branch of the BPP and other provocative actions. In addition, it alleges that Stokely Carmichael is behind this new organization.

The above statement represents an excellent opportunity to completely divide the BPP. San Francisco should forward a cohesive counterintelligence proposal designed to split the BPP on a nationwide basis. As office of origin San Francisco is expected to formulate and otherwise lead the counterintelligence program. In considering the proposal requested in above,

MAILED 22  
SEP 18 1969  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(9)  
*pm*

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO SEP 18 1969

*wesler*

08 SEP 22 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

153

Airtel to SAC, Newark

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

San Francisco should consider but not limit itself to things such as anonymous mass mailings, mass expulsion letters and other logical techniques. It goes without saying that this opportunity is not to be passed up.

New York should expeditiously notify the Bureau and San Francisco whether the statement in referenced LHM can be reproduced in its entirety.

NOTE:

The BPP may be in the process of breaking into various segments. In an effort to encourage this by specific counterintelligence, we are calling for specific counterintelligence proposals from the office of origin.



SAC, Boston (157-531)

9/18/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

C  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBSlet 8/26/69 captioned, "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence."

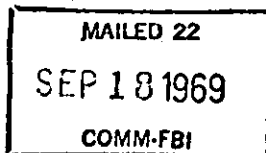
Referenced letter disclosed that [REDACTED], [REDACTED] of the Boston BPP has admitted to being a pervert. Boston should review pertinent files and if feasible thereafter forward a specific counterintelligence proposal designed toward neutralizing his activities. Take no action without specific Bureau approval.

(4)

NOTE:

Boston has forwarded interesting information indicating that a Boston chapter BPP leader is a pervert. We are calling for a specific counterintelligence proposal.

REC-68



EX-104

SEP 18 1969

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

98 SEP 22 1969

☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

155

SAC, Baltimore (157-2520)

9-18-69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

**COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM**

ReBAlet 9-3-69.

Enclosed for San Francisco is one copy of referenced communication.

Baltimore recommends that anonymous letters be mailed to Huey P. Newton indicating that Black Panther Party funds are being used for personal reasons. Anonymous communications are difficult to manage when being mailed to a jail as in this matter. This is due to the fact that most jail officials will forward mail only from specific mailers. Baltimore should review files and otherwise consider recommending of specific counterintelligence proposals in an effort to accomplish the same purpose.

Referenced communication pointed out that Eldridge Cleaver has grown disenchanted with the BPP and is considering a return to the United States for the purpose of starting a new group. San Francisco should consider this information and if logical, forward a suggested anonymous letter expelling Cleaver from the BPP. Take no action without prior authority.

2 - San Francisco (157-601) (Enclosure)

(6)

NOTE:

Baltimore has furnished interesting counterintelligence possibilities. We are calling for a specific proposal from that office. In addition, we are instructing San Francisco to consider an allegation received that BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver is going to return to the United States and start a new group. We are instructing San Francisco to consider a counterintelligence proposal concerning this information.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

98 SEP 22 1969 ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC-68

EX-104

SEP 18 1969

*Handwritten:* 156

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/4/69

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed is a copy of a tape recording found in the possession of [REDACTED], BPP-Boston, on 8/6/69.

Copy was recorded on 5/16, left channel. The quality of the original tape is questionable due to the screams of a small child and continual movement of the microphone.

It would appear that the tape is the recording of a political education meeting. It is believed that the instructor of the meeting was BPP Field [REDACTED]

2-Bureau (Encls. 1)

1-New Haven

(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC-69

14 SEP 8 1969

RACIAL INT. SEC.



5010-108-01

10 SEP 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

157

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/15/69

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY - BPP)

Re Seattle letter, 8/25/69.

## I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

By Seattle letter dated August 27, 1969, to the Bureau entitled "Cointelpro - New Left", Bureau permission was requested to inaugurate Cointelpro operation outlined in Seattle letter.

## II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None.

## III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None.

## IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

None.

The Bureau has been advised previously that the only logical Cointelpro target in the Seattle Division is the Black Panther Party. Inasmuch as BPP activity during the Summer of 1969 has been practically non-existent and since the Seattle BPP organization appears to be directing their activities more along political lines, it does not appear that bi-weekly letters under the above caption are warranted at this time.

Bureau permission is requested to submit letters under the above caption on a monthly basis rather than a bi-weekly basis as outlined in Bureau letter to Baltimore, dated November 25, 1968.

2 - Bureau (REG)  
2 - Seattle

(4)

57 SEP 26 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

158

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448)

DATE: 9/15/69

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALISTS  
HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
  
BI-WEEKLY LETTER  
PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AGAINST BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY CHAPTER, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Re Kansas City airtel to Bureau, 9/2/69

No new developments of interest as to current potential targets for counterintelligence action have appeared in the past two weeks.

[REDACTED], has advised that the BOBBY HUTTON Free Health Clinic has opened, as previously reported, and is operating with one doctor attending. The clinic has received little community support. It is open daily but is extremely inactive.

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Kansas City

(4)

REC-54

9 SEP 16 1969



310

5 SEP 25 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL

159

F B I

Date: 9/12/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
ATTENTION: SA GEORGE MOORE  
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-29488)  
SUBJECT: RACIAL MATTERS  
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK  
NATIONALS - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re: Urtel dated 9/10/69.

Photographs of members of Seattle Black Panther Party standing armed on Capitol Building steps, Olympia, Washington, February 28, 1969 not taken by Bureau agents.

Copies of photographs furnished by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who advised photographs taken by [REDACTED] on February 28, 1969.

② - Bureau  
1 - Seattle

(3)

REC-24

100-448006-1273  
18 SEP 16 1969

SEP 22 1969

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

160

FBI

Date: 9/10/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3214) (P)

COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS  
RNA

(OO: DETROIT)

Re Detroit teletype to Bureau, 9/8/69, captioned  
"REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA."

MILTON HENRY (Brother GAIDI), founder of the  
RNA, is experiencing some difficulty locally due to the  
failure of ROBERT WILLIAMS, titular head of the RNA, to  
arrive in Detroit as advertised.

On 9/6-7/69, members and fellow travelers of the  
RNA gathered at Detroit Metropolitan Airport to greet  
WILLIAMS. When he did not appear, the crowd was thrown into  
a state of confusion and anger; and MILTON HENRY cast about  
for some government or agency to blame. He was clearly  
not in control of the situation and his image with the  
membership must surely have suffered.

Detroit would like to exploit the present confusion  
in the RNA by sending the following letter to members of  
the RNA:

- 1-8069  
② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Detroit  
(4)

REC-5

EX 103

100-448006-1272

5-D-DM

Approved: 706  
51 SEP 22 1969 Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

161

"Citizens of the Republic!

Where's our president? Why is he being fooled with by the pigs like a common criminal when he is the president and worth more than any other president? Why is Brother Williams treated like this and why does Brother Gaidi call us to the airport every week and make us look like fools while he has a press conference and is the biggest fool of all? Does he know where Brother Williams is? Citizens, does Brother Gaidi really want our president to come back and take his rightful place or does he want to keep control of the Republic himself?

A Citizen

Hopefully, this letter will further confuse the issue of WILLIAMS' return to this country while, at the same time, looking forward to an eventual rift between WILLIAMS and HENRY.

Expeditious Bureau evaluation of this proposal is requested inasmuch as the letter would lose its effectiveness if it were mailed out subsequent to WILLIAMS return to the United States.

The usual procedure of typing or handprinting the letter on commercial stationery and mailing them from a postal substation in the ghetto area would be observed.



1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

9-12-69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

0  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
BUDED 9-24-69

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 7-11-69 captioned as above and Buairtel to SAC, Albany, 9-4-69 captioned "Black Extremist Group Recruiting Ex-Black Panther Party Members, Racial Matters."

ReBulet to San Francisco 7-11-69 pointed out that the BPP appeared to be in trouble both financially and politically. It also pointed out that the BPP was so desperate it was seeking alliances with such white groups as the Communist Party and the Students for a Democratic Society. Recipient offices were instructed to consider the exploitation of the weaknesses of the BPP in the Counter-intelligence Program.

Since relet, the BPP has and is attempting to complete an alliance with various white groups. In addition, referenced airtel 9-4-69 points out that an ex-BPP member is about to announce the formation of a new Party on 9-12-69 in Washington, D. C. Members are to be recruited from ex-BPP members. This information supports the previously received information that the BPP is in trouble.

Each office receiving this communication should advise the Bureau by 9-24-69 what positive steps have been taken to

MAILED 24  
SEP 13 1969

Tolson	2	- Baltimore (157-2520)
DeLoach	2	- Boston (157-654)
Mohr	2	- Chicago (157-2209)
Bishop	2	- Detroit (157-3214)
Casper	2	- Indianapolis (157-611)
Callahan	2	- Kansas City (100-12448)
Conrad	2	- Los Angeles (157-1751)
Felt	2	- New York (100-161140)
Gale	2	- Omaha (157-272)
Rosen	2	- Portland (157-347)
Sullivan	2	- Sacramento (100-894)
Tavel	2	- Seattle (157-721)
Trotter	2	- San Francisco (157-601)
Tele. Room	2	- San Francisco (157-601)
Holmes	2	- San Francisco (157-601)
Gandy	2	- San Francisco (157-601)

EX-103  
REC 12  
100-448006-1271  
19 SEP 15 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

(35)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

163

Letter to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
100-448006

exploit the weaknesses of the BPP since referenced letter to San Francisco. In addition, specific concrete proposals should be considered concerning the formation of a new organization made up of ex-BPP members. Specific proposals should be forwarded to the Bureau for consideration and approval. No specific action should be taken without prior Bureau approval. Such things as the expulsion of BPP leaders because of their association with ex-BPP members should be considered. The participation of each office is expected and necessary in order that the BPP organization is thoroughly disrupted.

NOTE:

We have previously issued instructions to recipient offices pointing out that the BPP is in trouble. We are requesting these offices to advise of positive steps taken to utilize this situation for constructive counterintelligence. In addition, we are pointing out recently received information to the effect that a new group is being planned. We are calling for specific counterintelligence proposals concerning this.

F B I

Date: 9/2/69

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re San Francisco quarterly letter, 7/14/69.

This submission is being forwarded at this time to  
comply with schedule previously set by Bureau.

San Francisco counterintelligence is above field at  
this time limited to the Black Panther Party (BPP). San  
Francisco letters entitled "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK  
NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS; BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)" dated  
7/28/69, 8/11/69 and 8/26/69, have set forth progress of this  
office since relet.

EX-103

REC 12

100-448006-127  
1 SEP 4 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco

(4)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

56 SEP 22 1969  
Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

165

OUT ENVELOPE

1 - M

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

9-11-69

REC-73

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1269

EX-111

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSDairtel 8-29-69 concerning requested permission to place anonymous phone calls to the [REDACTED] the San Diego Diocese. Authority granted to make the three anonymous phone calls as requested in referenced airtel.

Full security must be maintained in this endeavor so that the Bureau cannot be divulged as the source of these phone calls with resulting embarrassment. Advise of any reaction received through this counterintelligence endeavor.

(4)

NOTE:

The Black Panther Party (BPP) in San Diego (SD) has utilized the Catholic Church as a sanctuary through the cooperation of [REDACTED] is at the very least naive and has withstood several counterintelligence endeavors aimed at neutralizing this cooperation. He has gone so far as to make statements that the San Diego Police Department is racist and is creating terror in the area. SD has requested authority to place three anonymous phone calls to the [REDACTED] of SD. These calls would protest [REDACTED] using the church as a sanctuary, would object to [REDACTED] utilization of the church for the notorious BPP Breakfast Program, and would protest various sermons given by [REDACTED] in which he advocates support of black militants. We are authorizing these calls. There is no chance of embarrassment to the Bureau and the Bureau will not be disclosed as the source.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAILED 21  
SEP 11 1969  
COMM-FBI

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Bishop ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
Felt ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

51 SEP 22 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

166

NOTE CONTINUED:

This proposal is the second proposal utilized against [REDACTED] in the last several days. By letter dated 9-8-69 San Diego was authorized to mail an anonymous letter to another Catholic Church official in San Diego. This letter was mailed to [REDACTED] and pointed out some of the racist activities of [REDACTED]. The phone calls we are authorizing at this time will be made to [REDACTED], the [REDACTED] who is a subordinate of [REDACTED]. It is believed that it is essential to keep the pressure on the Catholic hierarchy as it concerns [REDACTED].

*WV 4/3*

FBI

Date: 8/29/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BPP)

For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED] Christ the King Roman Catholic Church, 32nd and Imperial, San Diego, California, has indicated an open advocacy of the BPP Breakfast Program and the black militant movement in general. He has utilized his church as a sanctuary for BPP members and has alleged that the San Diego Police Department is racist and is creating terrorism in the San Diego area.

Bureau authority is therefore requested to place three anonymous telephone calls to [REDACTED] of the San Diego Diocese.

The first call would protest [REDACTED] using the church as a sanctuary for black militants and for the furtherance of the programs of black militant groups.

The second call, placed on a Monday, would protest homilies given by [REDACTED] in which he advocates support of black militant groups.

The third call would specifically object to the utilization of the church for the BPP Breakfast Program in which the caller would indicate that in theory this program has merit but in San Diego is simply being utilized as a media of propaganda for the militant BPP.

- ② - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)  
2 - San Diego

(4)

REC-73

EX-111

SEP 4 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: E/H  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

168



All of the above calls will be made from "parishioners" objecting to the use of their church to assist a black militant cause. Two of the callers will urge that [REDACTED] be removed as Pastor of the church, and one will threaten suspension of financial support of the church if the activities of the Pastor are allowed to continue.

Fictitious names will be utilized in the event a name is requested by [REDACTED].

The calls, if approved, will be placed approximately four days apart.

It is felt that complaints, if they do not effect the removal of [REDACTED] from southeast San Diego, will at least result in [REDACTED] becoming aware that [REDACTED] is cognizant of his activities and will thus result in a curtailment of these activities.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-116140)

REC-58 X-104

Director, FBI (100-448006)-1268

9-23-69

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

*J. M. [unclear] pd*

Reurlet 9-10-69.

The letter as set forth in referenced communication is well written and encompasses all the desired points. Authorization is therefore granted for the anonymous mailing of this communication.

New York should take care to insure that the communication is prepared on a manual typewriter using commercially purchased paper. Strict security must be maintained.

New York should insure that the Bureau is not disclosed as the source of this communication and should obtain Bureau permission for the next communication to be sent to Rabbi Kahane.

[REDACTED]

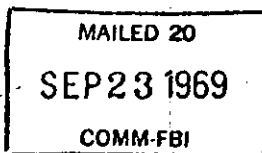
(9)

## NOTE:

See memorandum Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 9-19-69, prepared by JAM:mbm/drl.

22

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



51 SEP 29 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*sa gold*  
*W. C. Sullivan*  
*5-9-69*

170



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 9/10/69

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re NY report of [REDACTED], captioned  
"JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE, RACIAL MATTERS", NY file 157-3463;  
Bu letter to NY, 7/25/69.

Referenced report has been reviewed by the NYO  
in an effort to target one individual within the Jewish  
Defense League (JEDEL) who would be the suitable recipient  
of information furnished on an anonymous basis that the  
Bureau wishes to disseminate and/or use for future counter-  
intelligence purposes.

NY is of the opinion that the individual within  
JEDEL who would most suitably serve the above stated purpose  
would be Rabbi MEIR KAHANE, a Director of JEDEL. It is  
noted that Rabbi KAHANE's background as a writer for the  
NY newspaper "Jewish Press" would enable him to give wide-  
spread coverage of anti-Semitic statements made by the BPP  
and other Black Nationalist hate groups not only to members  
of JEDEL but to other individuals who would take cognizance  
of such statements.

In order to prepare a suggested initial communi-  
cation from the anonymous source to Rabbi KAHANE which would  
establish rapport between the two, it is felt that this contact  
should not be limited to the furnishing of factual information  
of interest to the aims of JEDEL because the NYO does not  
feel that JEDEL could be motivated to act as called for in  
referenced Bureau letter if the information gathered by the  
NYO concerning anti-semitism and other matters were furnished  
to that organization without some embellishment.

2- Bureau (RM)  
1- New York (43)

(3)

REC-5

5 SEP 12 1969



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RECEIVED

171

NY 100-161140

For example it is felt that JEDEL is aware of the majority of information concerning the factual views of the BPP and other Black Nationalist groups through public sources of information such as the BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther", and to furnish such information from an "anonymous source" would either be dismissed by JEDEL as trivial or attributed to some other party who may have an interest in causing JEDEL to act against such groups as the BPP.

In view of the above comments the following is submitted as the suggested communication to be used to establish rapport between the anonymous source and the selected individual associated with JEDEL:

"Dear Rabbi Kahane:

I am a Negro man who is 48 years old and served his country in the U.S. Army in WW2 and worked as a truck driver with "the famous red-ball express" in Gen. Eisenhower's Army in France and Nazi Germany. One day I had a crash with the truck I was driving, a 2½ ton truck, and was injured real bad. I was treated and helped by a Jewish Army Dr. named "Rothstein" who helped me get better again.

Also I was encouraged to remain in high school for two years by my favorite teacher, Mr. Katz. I have always thought Jewish people are good and they have helped me all my life. That is why I become so upset about my oldest son who is a Black Panther and very much against Jewish people. My oldest son just returned from Algiers in Africa where he met a bunch of other Black Panthers from all over the world. He said to me that they all agree that the Jewish people are against all the colored people and that the only friends the colored people have are the Arabs.

I told my child that the Jewish people are the friends of the colored people but he calls me a Tom and says I'll never be anything better than a Jew boy's slave.

NY 100-161140

Last night my boy had a meeting at my house with six of his Black Panther friends. From the way they talked it sounded like they had a plan to force Jewish store owners to give them money or they would drop a bomb on the Jewish store. Some of the money they get will be sent to the Arabs in Africa.

They left books and pictures around with Arab writing on them and pictures of Jewish soldiers killing Arab babies. I think they are going to give these away at Negro Christian Churches.

I though you might be able to stop this. I think I can get some of the pictures and books without getting myself in trouble. I will send them to you if you are interested.

I would like not to use my real name at this time.

A friend"

It is further suggested that a second communication be sent to Rabbi KAHANE approximately one week after the above described letter which will follow the same format, but will contain as enclosures some BPP artifacts such as pictures of BOBBY SEALE, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, a copy of a BPP newspaper, etc. It is felt that a progression of letters should then follow which would further establish rapport with the JEDEL and eventually culminate in the anonymous letter writer requesting some response from the JEDEL recipient of these letters.

FBI

Date: 9/8/69

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448066)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

67 Moore  
12/22

Re San Francisco airtel dated 8/26/69.

On 8/27/69, newspaper column of WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY was mailed anonymously to seven addressees who have had some connection with BPP Breakfast for Children Program.

This office has suggested the anonymous furnishing of information concerning BPP bank accounts to the mother of a young boy killed by a truck utilized by the BPP. San Francisco was instructed by the Bureau to determine another way in which the information could be furnished without causing further distress to the mother of the deceased.

A further review of San Francisco Police records in this matter reflect that police reports concerning the accident of [REDACTED] were furnished to the District Attorney's Office and that office shortly after the accident advised that they were taking no further action and were so informing the office of Coroner. On 9/5/69, [REDACTED] reported that Coroner's Office has now issued a subpoena for [REDACTED] and it would therefore, appear that the matter may be reopened.

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco

(4)

REC-1  
EX-111

100-448006-1267  
10 SEP 11 1969

58 SEP 18 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

174

FD 217 (Rev. 3-12-64)

SF 157-601

LSB:jo

A check of the records of the Clerk, Superior Court, San Francisco, reflects that as of 9/4/69, no civil action has as yet been filed in this matter. California statute of limitations in such a case is one year. This matter is being followed to determine an appropriate way to furnish the information to an attorney or executor of the deceased.

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/9/69

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 8/25/69.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
(2) - Indianapolis

REC- 58

EX-111

SEP 11 1969

54 SEP 18 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

176

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) [REDACTED] 9/10/69

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST -- HATE GROUPS --  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Charlotte letters to Bureau, 6/24/69 and 8/6/69.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration

[REDACTED], aka, formerly Agitator Index subject of New Haven, is now residing [REDACTED] Negro female, [REDACTED] was in contact with Charlotte informant and advised he desired to marry [REDACTED] It is noted that investigation concerning the subject in New Haven and New York has indicated he has a wife, [REDACTED] New York and New Haven have been requested to furnish Charlotte with background data concerning [REDACTED] including time and place of marriage to subject with a copy of the marriage license. In the event [REDACTED] does attempt a bigamous marriage, this will be brought to the attention of the appropriate local authorities and if he continues to reside with [REDACTED] without marrying her, a plan will be developed to bring this to [REDACTED] attention.

REC- 58

## 2. Operations Being Effectuated

Bureau permission has been requested to furnish public source type data concerning [REDACTED] and Black Extremist activities to [REDACTED] Upon completion of this operation the Bureau will be advised of the results.

## 3. Tangible Results

- 2 - Bureau (100-448006) (RM) Classified by 5047
- 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6109) Exempt from GDS, Category 2
- (1 - 100-10483) no of Declassification Indefinite

59 SEP 22 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 9/10/69





5010-108-01

177

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Internal struggle within the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Charlotte, N. C., appears to be dividing the group. Members continue to be arrested on local charges resulting in cost for bond and attorney fees, however, prosecution has not been completed. The civil suit by the BPP at Charlotte against law enforcement agencies as mentioned in Charlotte letter dated 6/24/69 has not been adjudicated.

In connection with the Counterintelligence Program - New Left (Charlotte file 100-10483) and the article appearing in the 8/16/69 edition of the "Guardian" concerning the split by the BPP and SDS, Charlotte has received Bureau permission to furnish  with this information in an attempt to cease the co-operation between SDS and BPP in the Charlotte Division. Although the matter is being handled as an operation of the Counterintelligence Program - New Left, it will have a direct result concerning the Criminal Informant Program of the Black Nationalist - Hate Groups if successful.





ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

SAC, San Diego (100-14192)

9/9/69

EX-105

REC-24

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1-51

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSDairtel 8/29/69 concerning an anonymous letter  
to the Bishop of the San Diego Diocese.

Authority is granted to mail the communication as  
set forth in reairtel. The letter should be prepared on a  
manual typewriter on commercially-purchased paper. Strict  
security must be maintained. Advise the Bureau of any  
positive reaction to this communication.

(4)

NOTE:

The notorious black extremist group known as the  
Black Panther Party has in the past utilized a Catholic  
church in San Diego, California, with the assistance  
of its pastor, the [REDACTED], who is at the  
very least naive. Several counterintelligence proposals  
have been aimed against [REDACTED] in an effort to  
neutralize his activities. He is still assisting the BPP  
and has utilized his church as a sanctuary for BPP members.  
He has also alleged that the SDPD is racist and is creating  
terrorism in the SD area. A new Bishop has been appointed  
in the SD Diocese. The SD Office has recommended that an  
anonymous letter be mailed to him pointing out the idiotic  
conduct of [REDACTED] and requesting assistance in  
solving the problem of [REDACTED]. We are authorizing  
this counterintelligence proposal. There is no chance of  
embarrassment to the Bureau or that the Bureau could be  
disclosed as the source of this communication. The sender  
is fictitious. The address of the sender is a blind Post  
Office Box which is rented under a fictitious name.

MAILED 24

SEP 9 - 1969

COMM-FBI

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Bishop ☐  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☐  
Rosen ☐  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

58 SEP 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

179

FBI

Date: 8/29/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(BPP)

For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED] Christ the King Roman Catholic Church, 32nd and Imperial, San Diego, California, has indicated an open advocacy of the BPP Breakfast Program and the black militant movement in general. He has utilized his church as a sanctuary for BPP members and has alleged that the San Diego Police Department is racist and is creating terrorism in the San Diego area.

Bureau authority is requested to send the following letter to [REDACTED]

Dear Excellency:

I know that you are new to our Diocese and therefore hesitate to greet you with a problem of such magnitude so close to your recent arrival. However, the problem is reaching such proportions that I feel compelled to make you cognizant of it in the hopes that something can be done before more serious problems arise throughout the Church in San Diego.

② - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)  
2 - San Diego

(4)

REC-24

EX-105

100-448006-1264

ICC 810 940

SEP 4 1969

RECEIVED

ROUTING UNIT FWW/RWS / 9-4-69  
Approved: ERROR LETTER SENT Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

180

[REDACTED] our Pastor at Christ the King on 32nd and Imperial, has reached what I consider almost a psychotic state concerning his fight for what he refers to as the plight of the black man. I personally support equal rights and privileges for all people, but [REDACTED] has gone far beyond what would be considered the efforts of a rational individual.

For example, he has on a couple of occasions, allowed members of the violence prone Black Panther Party to use our church as a "sanctuary." The Lord only knows from what [REDACTED] believes these individuals need a "sanctuary." He alleges that our fine San Diego Police Department is composed of a bunch of racists and often used his office to promulgate the demands of the militant groups.

Your Excellency, approximately 80% of our church is non-black and I would venture to guess that roughly 95% of the financial support comes from this group. In talking with other parishioners, the general feeling is that if [REDACTED] is not replaced as our Pastor immediately, one of two things will happen. Either all financial support normally designated for the church will be channeled to individual charities outside of the San Diego area and/or the parishioners will fulfill their spiritual requirements in some other church.

I have been a member of Christ the King for many years now, as have the majority of our parishioners. We would certainly not want to do anything which would in any way jeopardize the continuance of what we have come to regard as "our church." I sincerely hope that you will be sympathetic to our grievances and will conduct your own inquiry to personally evaluate the mental condition and activities of our Pastor. Please help us Excellency, you are the only one who can preserve what we have for so many years cherished.

Sincerely,

T. E. Ellis  
Post Office Box 12186  
San Diego

SD 100-14192

For the additional information of the Bureau,  
the name T. E. ELLIS is fictitious and the Post Office Box  
is not traceable to the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/8/69

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49654) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

Re Newark letter to Bureau 8/25/69.

During the past two weeks no counterintelligence measures were aimed against the BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP).

No accomplishments were obtained during previous two-week period under captioned program.

EX-104

REC-6

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark

(3)

14 SEP 11 1969

59 SEP 16 1969



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

183

F B I

Date: 8/29/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-10)

FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2346) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM-BPP  
SUBMISSION OF INTELLIGENCE DATA

Re CI airtel to Bureau, 8/15/69.

No data has been received to indicate there is a BPP group in Cincinnati and nothing has been received to indicate efforts to organize same.

No data has been received to suggest significant activity on the part of the BPP type group in Columbus, Ohio, and efforts are being conducted to develop sources regarding this group.

Cincinnati has no counterintelligence recommendations at this time but will develop same as actual BPP organizational efforts progress.

- (3) - Bureau (RM)  
(1-100-448006) (Counterintelligence Program)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2137) (RM)
- 4 - Cincinnati

(9)

NOT RECORDED

172 SEP 8 1969

SEP 1 1969

59 SEP 18 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-448006-184

8/26/69

AIRTEL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *classification*  
DATE *4-19-77 C57*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, DENVER (100-9553)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 8/20/69.

It is to be noted that the current relationship between members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Denver area appears to be much more friendly than outlined in reairtel. The Denver BPP, led by [REDACTED] combined with the Denver area SDS membership to hold a rally at the City-County Building, Denver, Colorado, on 8/6/69, for the purpose of demanding the freedom of Black Panther Party members HUEY NEWTON, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and former SDS affiliate [REDACTED]. Then, on 8/8/69, the Denver SDS and BPP membership again joined forces for a rally and march in Denver to voice several additional demands. Since the BPP campaign, which the SDS refused to join, commenced in July it would appear that these two groups in the Denver area have overcome their differences on the matter.

[REDACTED]

- 4-Bureau (2-100-449698)(RM)
- (2-100-448006-Sub. 13)
- 1-Chicago (Info) (RM)
- 2-Denver (1-100-9553)
- (1-157-199)

(7)

Classified by *3047*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification *Indefinite*

NOT RECORDED  
SEP 8 1969

54 SEP 19 1969

SEP 17 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

185

DN 100-9553

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Denver is doubtful that a counterintelligence maneuver directed at the dispute arising out of BPP petition campaign described in reairtel would have the desired effect; however, if the Bureau so desires a letter over the facsimile of [REDACTED] signature - [REDACTED] being one of the principal leaders of SDS in the Denver area - can be prepared for mailing to [REDACTED]. Such letter would indicate withdrawal of support of SDS in the Denver area for Denver BPP activities due to the "stab in the back" given SDS by the Panthers when the Panthers indicated that the SDS were national socialists who were attempting to dictate to the Panthers, as per the recent article in the "Guardian." Such a letter, to be effective, would have to be mailed very soon since the "Guardian" article has been in print for ten days already.

Denver sources and informants reporting on SDS who are presently in the Denver area during summer vacation are not at this time in a sufficiently influential position to spread dissension among SDS membership regarding the BPP statements.

[REDACTED]



# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

DATE: 9/8/69

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Omaha letter to Bureau, 8/25/69.

As pointed out in referenced letter the BPP in Omaha, Nebraska is considered defunct by BPP National Headquarters although there was some indication that this organization might be reactivated at a future date under new leadership. In connection with the BPP in Des Moines, Iowa, this organization has been mostly inactive for several months and information was also received that this organization was defunct.

It was recently learned that [redacted] in Kansas City, Missouri, had been in contact with [redacted] of the Des Moines BPP and these two individuals were instructed to attempt to reactivate the BPP in Des Moines. To date no information has been received that [redacted] were successful in their efforts to reactivate the Des Moines Chapter.

In view of the foregoing, Omaha does not feel that concrete recommendations could be made at this time re counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP.

This matter will continue to be closely followed and suggestions for counterintelligence action against the new BPP Chapters, if formed, and its leadership will be submitted by separate communications.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Omaha

EX-105

REC-6

100-448006-1262

22 SEP 11 1969

(4)



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

187

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/5/69

ReNYlet to Bureau, 5/23/69.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration:

The NYO is presently considering an attempt to contact and establish some rapport with the Jewish Defense League (JEDEL) in order to be in a position to furnish JEDEL with information the Bureau wishes to see utilized in a counterintelligence technique.

The aforementioned contact with JEDEL will be made by an anonymous letter sent to someone in a leadership capacity with that organization.

A suggested communication establishing the necessary connection between JEDEL and the fictitious source will be sent to the Bureau by separate cover letter for the Bureau's consideration and approval.

The NYO is also considering preparing a letter entitled "A Black Man's Letter from Cuba" which will deal with the dissatisfaction of members of the Black Panther Party in Cuba today. This letter will be forwarded to the Bureau for their comments and approval before any decision is made as to its distribution.

## 2. Operations Being Submitted

On 6/20/69, an anonymous letter was sent to the United Federation of Teachers in New York City after Bureau approval was granted on 6/13/69.

As of this date, no tangible results have come to the attention of the NYO.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (#43)

(3)

REC-1

EX-116

12 SEP 10 1969

RACIAL INT. ACT.



NY 100-161140

The NYO on 9/8/69, obtained a suitable copy for reproduction of an article that appeared on page 12 of the 5/17/69 issue of "The Guardian", a New York, New York radical newspaper, for mailing to those individuals whose names appear are a list furnished to New York by the St. Louis Office by letter dated 6/27/69.

This mailing will take place during the weeks of September 7 and 14, 1969.

The NYO has alerted logical informants to determine the current attitude of the Black community in the NYC area toward [REDACTED] to enable the NYO to determine if there is a counterintelligence aspect that could be capitalized on in regard to [REDACTED] being shot and seriously wounded by an unknown assailant on 6/7/69.

[REDACTED]

Such information could be utilized in effecting a counterintelligence proposal which would discredit the BPP in the New York area.

After receiving prior Bureau approval, [REDACTED] of the Nassau Catholic Archdiocese of New York, was contacted on 8/22/69 and discreetly advised of the "Breakfast for Children Program" conducted by the BPP which was being held at All Saints Roman Catholic Church in NYC.

### 3. Tangible Results

[REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the "Breakfast for Children Program" sponsored by the BPP and staged at All Saints Roman Catholic Church in NYC had been discontinued on direction of the Church authorities.

Therefore, it is felt that some of the counterintelligence measures of the NYO have borne fruit.

NY-100-161140

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interests

Due to a reorganization of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) Consulates in the NYC area as well as a lack of RNA activity the plans to schedule RNA meetings as set forth in reNYlet to Bureau have been held in abeyance until a more suitable opportunity arises.

The NYO continues to remain alert for indications of situations where counterintelligence techniques may be utilized and will immediately inform the Bureau of such happenings.

New York is aware of the necessity for the Bureau to consider and recommend any specific counterintelligence proposals and, therefore, this office will be guided accordingly.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

8/22/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1207

EX-111 REC-69

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReSFairtel 8/14/69 concerning Melvin Jenkins and his involvement in an auto fatality.

The counterintelligence suggestion proposed by San Francisco, in referenced airtel, has definite merit and represents considerable thought. It is not believed that an anonymous phone call should be made to the mother of the child killed by [REDACTED]. This could cause her extreme mental distress. The idea of furnishing information concerning BPP bank accounts to representatives of the victim should be followed up.

San Francisco should attempt to determine another way in which this information can be furnished and which will not cause further distress to the deceased victim's relatives. It may be that an executor or administrator has been appointed to conduct a wrongful death action on behalf of the deceased. This information could anonymously be furnished to these representatives and be incorporated in any law suit maintained. San Francisco should give this matter some additional thought and advise the Bureau of the results. Take no specific action without prior Bureau authority.

MAILED 3

AUG 22 1969

COMM-FBI

(4)

NOTE:

[REDACTED], a BPP member, killed a young 10-year-old boy, while driving a truck owned by the editor of a Black Panther publication. [REDACTED] backed over the boy in a gas station and crushed him. San Francisco recommends that information pertaining to known bank accounts of the BPP as well as the fact that this truck is connected with the BPP be made known to the victim's mother by means of an anonymous phone call. We are turning this down to obviate the possibility of causing this mother additional grief. We are pointing out to San Francisco that the idea is good and other methods of forwarding this information should be pursued.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

8 AUG 29 1969

191

F B I

Date: 8/14/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST -- HATE GROUPS  
-- RACIAL INTELLIGENCE --  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On 7/30/69, [REDACTED] a BPP member, was involved in an auto fatality while driving a truck owned by [REDACTED] while backing up on the premises of a San Francisco gas station backed into a 10 year old boy pinning him against a pump, causing his death.

ERNEST JORNER, the deceased, was a resident of [REDACTED]. This address is in the ghetto and inquiries reveal that JORNER was survived by his mother, [REDACTED] a nurse's aide residing at the same address. San Francisco Housing authorities report the mother may be reached through telephone [REDACTED], which is registered to a [REDACTED]

The Ford pick-up involved in the accident is often utilized by the BPP for delivery of "The Black Panther."

Bureau authority is requested to anonymously contact [REDACTED] at the above mentioned telephone number and advise her that the truck is connected with the BPP and that she should advise her attorney that BPP has bank accounts at the Wells Fargo Bank, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California, Central Valley National Bank at Berkeley, California and at Bank of America, 8th and Broadway Branch, Oakland, California.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco, CC 810940

(4)

REC-69

AUG 16 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
Per \_\_\_\_\_

192

SF 157-601

LSP:bfr

If attorney for mother of deceased pursues this matter, he may tie up current assets of BPP and seriously impede their activity, especially the printing of the newspaper.

# ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

September 10, 1969

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Seattle (100-29488)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(VISUAL AIDS)

Reurlet 5/1/69.

Relet enclosed photographs of members of the Seattle Black Panther Party standing armed on the Capitol Building steps at Olympia, Washington, on 2/28/69.

By return airtel advise whether these photographs were taken by Bureau Agents or not, and if not, the original source of the photographs.

(5)

NOTE: Crime Records Division is considering using one of these photographs in the 1969 FBI Report.

REC 70  
EX-113

100-448006-1219

SEP 10 1969

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 21  
SEP 10 1969  
COMM-FBI

98 SEP 15 1969 ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

194



## Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/69

SAC, PORTLAND (157-347) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Portland letter to Director, 6/24/69.

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN THE PORTLAND  
FIELD DIVISION;  
CHANGES

The Black Panther Party (BPP) at Portland, Oregon, continues to be essentially inactive and ineffective. The current captain of the BPP group at Portland, [REDACTED] is on \$20,000 bond awaiting local prosecution on the charge of inciting to riot and riot as an outgrowth of the disturbances during June in the Albina District, [REDACTED] a predominantly Negro section of Portland, Oregon.

The BPP group at Eugene, Oregon, which had become extremely active during the first half of 1969, has been hampered by internal strife within the organization and a struggle for power.

(1) Operations Under Consideration

By referenced letter, Portland made counterintelligence suggestions regarding [REDACTED] an activist at Portland, Oregon. The Bureau, in response to this suggestion, requested Portland to prepare pertinent information suitable for dissemination to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and to make specific proposals to furnishing information to the Oregon Department of Labor. This has been held in abeyance

- 1-8060
- ② - Bureau (AM) (RM)
  - 9 - Portland (2 - 157-347)
    - (1 - 157-511 BPP, Eugene)
    - (1 - [REDACTED])
    - (1 - [REDACTED])
    - (1 - [REDACTED])
    - (1 - [REDACTED])
    - (1 - 157-392 BPP, Portland)
    - (1 - [REDACTED])

REC 25

14 SEP 5 1969



SEP 5 1969

310

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

195

in that since the recommendation was made, [REDACTED] has moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, and investigation is being conducted there to establish his residence and activity. When this has been established, consideration will be given to carry out the counterintelligence program aimed at [REDACTED]

An article appeared in the "Oregon Journal," a Portland daily newspaper on 8/8/69, concerning [REDACTED] student at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, who has been working during the summer in Portland's Negro community under the sponsorship of the Urban League. In this article, [REDACTED] was quoted as saying he believes that the Black Panther Party represents the black community's best hope for achieving change and he considers the BPP to be the "power structure" best fitted to confront white institutions.

The Dallas Office has been requested to furnish background information on [REDACTED] and to establish prior connections with the BPP. Portland will consider utilizing this information for counterintelligence purposes. Portland has made counterintelligence suggestion regarding widening the rift between SDS and the BPP.

## (2) Operations Being Put Into Effect

By letter dated 7/9/69, Portland suggested anonymous mailing of copies of an article appearing in the "Washington Post" for June 19, 1969, captioned, "Panthers: Are a Recital of Fear and Crime."

By letter dated 7/28/69, the Bureau advised Portland that this suggestion is being utilized at this time by several Offices where "breakfast programs" or "liberation schools" are being conducted. For the information of the Bureau neither of these programs are underway in Portland, and Portland is not in a position to assess the effectiveness of this program.

## (3) Tangible Results of Counterintelligence

Portland in dealing with black militants whether or not affiliated with an organization has determined the individual's Selective Service status.

PD-157-347

In this connection it was determined that [REDACTED] a young Negro militant, had not registered for Selective Service. [REDACTED] first came to the attention of this Office when he was identified by an informant as being in possession of Molotov cocktails which led to his arrest by the Portland Police Department.

On 8/25/69, [REDACTED] was arrested by the FBI, charged with violation of the Selective Service Act, and was released on \$1,500 bond.

[REDACTED] BPP, at Eugene, Oregon, received investigative attention during an extensive investigation into a series of bombings occurring in Eugene, Oregon, 5/19-20/69. [REDACTED] was arrested by the Lane County Sheriff's Office, Eugene, Oregon, on 5/23/69, on a local charge, and during the search incidental to this arrest, a rifle was found which [REDACTED] admitted being the owner. Subsequently, [REDACTED] was arrested by Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, IRS, in that it had been determined that [REDACTED] purchased this weapon knowing that he had been convicted of a felony.

[REDACTED]

Shortly after midnight, 8/26/69, [REDACTED] Field Lieutenant, BPP, Eugene, Oregon, was shot and wounded under mysterious circumstances in a Eugene public park. Information had been received from [REDACTED] and highly reliable San Francisco sources that [REDACTED] friction had developed between [REDACTED] of the Eugene BPP, and various members of the Eugene BPP, in particular [REDACTED]

Following the shooting, [REDACTED] failed to cooperate with the Eugene Police Department and has furnished conflicting information regarding the shooting. All information points to the belief that this shooting was engineered by [REDACTED] or someone acting in his behalf. Portland will follow the

PD 157-347

developments surrounding this shooting in order to take advantage of information that could further disrupt the BPP group and spread distrust among its members.

On 8/13/69, [REDACTED] had submitted to a pre-induction physical at Portland, Oregon. [REDACTED] although a college student at the University of Oregon (UO), Eugene, Oregon, obtained a score of one out of a possible 100 on the AFQT test. In completing a medical history form, [REDACTED] claimed to have many afflictions, including those known only to females.

The Jacksonville Division covering [REDACTED] Selective Service Board has been furnished with complete details and have been requested to review [REDACTED] file and discuss with the appropriate USA.

(4) Development of Counterintelligence Interest

No additional pertinent information.

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/4/69

ReBuairtel to Albany dated 3/4/68, and Pittsburgh letter to Bureau dated 6/4/69.

1. Operations Under Consideration

Information has been recently received that [REDACTED] a Pittsburgh black militant leader who has in the past been involved in a gun battle with Pittsburgh Police officers, is being considered as a possible part-time instructor at the University of Pittsburgh in a Black Studies Program. being considered by the University. This office is considering appropriate counterintelligence action to preclude [REDACTED] from obtaining this position.

[REDACTED] a Pittsburgh Agitator Index subject, has been named coordinator of a drive to recruit black students for scholarships at the University of Pittsburgh. Counterintelligence action to neutralize [REDACTED] in this position is being considered by Pittsburgh.

2. Operations Being Effected

Public source information concerning both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] mentioned above, has been furnished to [REDACTED] an established and reliable source at the "Pittsburgh Press," and he has agreed to utilize this information at the first appropriate opportunity.

Bureau authority has been previously requested to alert [REDACTED] to the fact that [REDACTED] is being considered for the position of part-time instructor at the University of Pittsburgh with the suggestion that his newspaper may desire to expose [REDACTED] background.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Pittsburgh

EX-103

REC-4

10 SEP 8 1969

54 SEP 16 1969



5010-108-02

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199

3. Tangible Results

There have been no tangible results realized under the Counterintelligence Program during the current period.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Racial demonstrations and activities during the past several weeks have consisted of demonstrations by black groups to attempt to obtain additional job opportunities and union membership for black workers in the construction industry. Developments in this situation are being closely followed by Pittsburgh to determine if the movement becomes directed or influenced by any militant black nationalists and, if so, consideration will be given for appropriate counterintelligence action.

There have been no further significant changes in the overall Black Nationalist movement in the Pittsburgh area since the submission of referenced letter.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/5/69

Airtel

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Miami (157-2414)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 1256

REC 85

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(NATION OF ISLAM)

ReMiami airtel 8/25/69 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Miami Office are single copies of the following:

Testimony of the Director concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI) given before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on 2/10/66, 2/16/67 and 2/23/68, and a copy of a statement by the Director before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 9/18/68, which sets forth information concerning the NOI on page 9.

The above enclosures may be furnished to [REDACTED], Miami, Florida, for use in connection with that station's expose of the NOI.

Miami should insure that [REDACTED] is made aware of the necessity for maintaining the source of this information confidential. The Bureau should be kept advised in this matter.

Enclosures - 4

1 - Chicago

(8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

53 SEP 12 1969

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201

Airtel to SAC, Miami  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
100-448006

A copy of this communication is furnished  
Chicago for information.

NOTE:

The NOI is a black extremist organization  
headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, with numerous  
chapters throughout the United States.

We have previously authorized Miami to work  
on a documentary exposing the NOI being prepared by  
[REDACTED]. Miami has requested the  
Bureau and Chicago to furnish statements by the Director  
which might be of value to Strul in the production of  
this program.



F B I

Date: 8/25/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI (100-448006)  
From: SAC, Miami (157-2414) (P)  
Subject: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(NATION OF ISLAM)

Re Miami airtel 8/22/69.

██████████ Miami, advised they are attempting to locate statements of prominent government and police officials regarding the dangers created by the Nation of Islam (NOI). He said these statements are to be used in the concluding summary of their expose regarding the NOI.

██████████ was furnished information concerning the NOI given by the Director in his testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on 4/17/69, as well as the Director's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1966, released 10/18/66.

The Bureau and Chicago are requested to expeditiously furnish any other statements by the Director or prominent police or government officials which might be of value to STRUHL in the production of this program.

It is noted ██████████ said he hopes to have this program prepared and ready to show on either 9/15/69 or 9/22/69.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago (RM)  
2 - Miami  
██████████

(6)

REC 85

AUG 27 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: JK  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

203

## Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/69

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCERe Jackson letters to the Bureau dated  
5/27/69, 8/4/69, and 8/26/69.QUARTERLY PROGRESS LETTER

During the past three months, activities by Black Nationalists at colleges and high schools in Mississippi have been nonexistent since schools, for the most part, have only had activities limited to summer school with small attendance thereat.

[REDACTED] the main Black Nationalist extremist in the Jackson Division, has been restricting his activities to running a liberation school six days a week for children, ages 10 - 14, in the Georgetown ghetto area of Jackson.

[REDACTED] independent extremist, has, except for two-day visit in August, been away from the State of Mississippi since May, 1969. He has been active in other States, especially Pennsylvania, in promoting the "Black Manifesto." In this latter regard, he has presented the Manifesto at churches and before church groups.

Muhammed's Mosque, a Nation of Islam group at Jackson, continues to be attempting to obtain membership and funds in the Jackson area. Their efforts in this regard have been minimal and the leadership is very discouraged.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 4-10-75 [REDACTED]



5010-108-01

2- [REDACTED] - 806 [REDACTED] by 2047  
2- Bureau (CRM) from GDS, Category 2ST  
2- Jackson Date of Declassification Indefinite 106  
12/4/74 [REDACTED]  
(4)

REC 70

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL

AM

204

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

With school commencing in September, 1969, attention will be directed toward Black Nationalist student groups at colleges and high schools in Mississippi for any indications that they are being dominated by black extremists or preaching black extremist activities. Any positive information developed in this regard will be carefully scrutinized for possible counterintelligence actions.

The Jackson Division is continuing to follow closely developments regarding the possible withdrawal of funds from the Jackson Human Rights Project, which is the name given to activities of [REDACTED] and associates in the Jackson area. Any derogatory information developed regarding [REDACTED] which is of public knowledge, will be channelized to appropriate authorities following normal procedure for counterintelligence measure dissemination.

While NOI activities in the State are being closely followed, it is felt that counterintelligence actions at present could possibly serve to unify these elements at a time when they are experiencing serious internal difficulties in the recruiting and finance areas.

[REDACTED]

## II. OPERATIONS BEING AFFECTED


### III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

42 (a) The Jackson Division, on July 30 - 31, 1969, conducted a police - community relations two-day seminar at the Jackson Police Department, at which about 65 officers attended. Among topics discussed by FBI instructors were Black Nationalist groups and the fact that police officers should be alert to any criminal activities or acts of violence by Negroes affiliated with black extremist groups.

In the early morning hours of July 31, 1969, two of the officers who attended the session on July 30, 1969, were on duty in a Negro ghetto area of Jackson. They observed three bearded, militant-looking Negroes in an older model Chevrolet cruising in the vicinity of a large gun shop in the ghetto area.

After closely observing this car for a few minutes, it became apparent to the officers that the individuals were "up to no good." They subsequently stopped the car on a traffic violation and thereafter determined that the car was stolen from New Orleans, Louisiana, and that one of the occupants was a convicted felon in possession of a fully-loaded carbine. These three individuals were subsequently identified as being affiliated with the RNA in the New Orleans, Louisiana, area.

The driver of the vehicle was charged with ITSMV and possession of a firearm by a convicted felon; one of the passengers was charged with ITSMV and the third passenger was charged with misprison of a felony. All of these charges were Federal charges.



Subsequently, the Negro charged with misprison of a felony was identified from fingerprints at the FBI Identification Division as being identical to [REDACTED], a Federal fugitive from the Pittsburgh Division, sought for almost a year on bank robbery charges.

All of the above three individuals are still in Federal custody in lieu of \$5,000 bond on each charge. Jackson informants in the RNA have been publicizing, discreetly, their "shock and amazement" that such hard core criminal types had been allowed into the RNA, thereby reflecting the RNA in a bad light in the South.

All of the above arrests were given wide dissemination in press releases over local and national news media channels.

(b) In early August, 1960, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] contacted the Jackson FBI Office and indicated he was doing a background investigation on [REDACTED] Jackson SNCC leader, and his associates. This investigation was being conducted on behalf of the Episcopal Church in Jackson in that [REDACTED], under the guise of the Jackson Human Rights Project, had received authority for a grant of over \$6,000 for this project. Only about \$2,200 had been actually given to [REDACTED] when Episcopal Church leaders heard rumors that much derogatory information was circulating regarding [REDACTED] and his activities. [REDACTED] asked if the FBI had any information regarding derogatory information concerning [REDACTED] and his associates.

[REDACTED] was referred by the FBI to several police sources, white and black community leaders, and anti-poverty workers who possess information regarding [REDACTED] and his associates, which included [REDACTED] independent extremist, and [REDACTED] at Tougaloo College.

[REDACTED] said when he completed his investigation, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Subsequently, on August 13, 1969, [REDACTED] completed a four-page letter containing extensive derogatory information regarding [REDACTED] and his associates, which he had developed from contacts he was referred to by the FBI. He advised this letter would be forwarded to Episcopal Church leaders in Jackson and in New York and would possibly be a basis for discontinuance of further funds to [REDACTED] and his associates.

#### IV. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTERESTS

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(a) On May 24, 1969, [REDACTED], Jackson liaison source and Episcopal Church leader in Jackson, contacted the Jackson FBI office and indicated he was interested in background information on [REDACTED] independent extremist, who he said had been traveling throughout the United States and confronting church groups with the "Black Manifesto." He said his inquiry was being conducted as Episcopal Church leaders wanted to be aware of his background should he approach any Episcopal Churches.

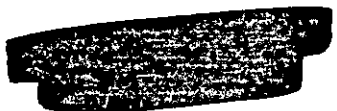
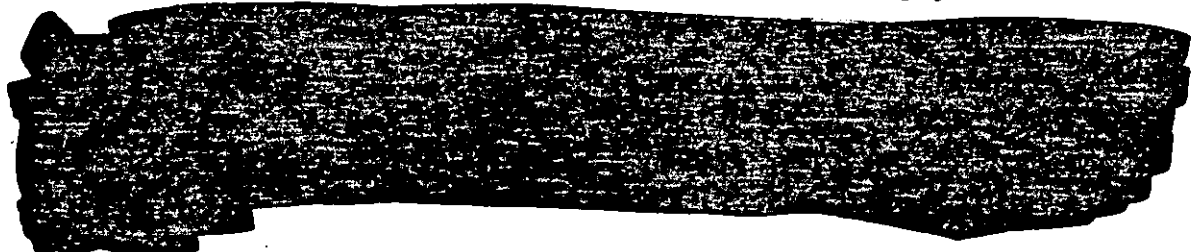
[REDACTED] was referred to several public sources which were in possession of or contained derogatory information regarding [REDACTED] to include arrests, affiliation with black extremist groups, and unfavorable publicity received from his attempted "take-over" of church meetings and services in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. He said he would research these references and extract pertinent information which he would use to prepare a report regarding [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

JN 100-980



On August 27, 1969,  was contacted and referred by the FBI to an article appearing in "The Jackson Daily News" on the evening of August 26, 1969, which reflected an Associated Press release describing  take-over of a National Student Association Convention at El Paso, Texas, and demanding funds for Negroes at this gathering.  was again most appreciative of this information, said he would research it further, and advise his superiors accordingly.



## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/4/69

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894) (P)

*Hw/ao*  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Sacramento letter to the Bureau, 8/19/69.

Sacramento has no counterintelligence measure under consideration at present and has no accomplishments to report during the past two week period.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Sacramento

(4)

SEP 8 1969



SEP 12 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

210



## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/3/69

*Shelwood  
New Haven*

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 3/4/68.

The following is a ninety-day summary of activities within the New Haven Division relating to captioned program:

1. Operations Under Consideration

The New Haven, Hartford, and Bridgeport, Connecticut, Chapters of the Black Panther Party (BPP) remain disorganized and without proper leadership. Counterintelligence operations, therefore, are being considered as the opportunity arises.

2. Operations Being Effected

As authorized by the Bureau, New Haven will continue to furnish public source data to approved press representatives. New Haven will remain alert for those incidents or circumstances which may lend themselves to counterintelligence exploitation. One example of this was an anonymous letter mailed to WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., setting forth Yale University sanctions of BPP activities on the Yale campus during May 1969.

The New Haven Division is remaining alert for violations committed by members of the BPP and is aggressively conducting such investigation to uncover criminal violations. During the preceding ninety day period, investigation conducted by the New Haven Division has led to the arrest of BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman of the BPP for Murder, Conspiracy to Murder, Kidnaping, and Conspiracy to Commit Kidnaping; [REDACTED] of the BPP along with four other members of the Boston Chapter, on ITSMV charges; and [REDACTED] on violation of the State Firearms Control Assistance Act.

(2-Bureau (RM))  
(1-New Haven)

(3)

14 SEP 7 1969

58 SEP 15 1969



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

211

### 3. Tangible Results

On the national level the arrest of SEALE has certainly disrupted the entire BPP organization and caused an additional drain of the BPP funds.

On the local level, continual pressure on the rank and file members as well as the leadership by the FBI and local authorities has sparked a flurry of demonstrations and an influx of BPP organizers. It is worthy to note that the majority of the Black community and white community is not giving the Party any visible support. In short, they are apparently having to "go it alone" without community assistance.

### 4. Developments of CI Interest

The arrest of SEALE and his anticipated extradition will undoubtedly bring more BPP national representatives into the New Haven area. In fact, reliable informants have already begun to report that several noted BPP functionaries have already arrived.

According to these informants, the BPP leadership is concerned with finding the "leak" within the remaining New Haven Chapter. Informant coverage to date has reflected that if the informant is found, he will be executed in a fashion similar to the murder of ALEX RACKLEY.

New Haven is anticipating an emergence of renewed militancy of the Party in the New Haven area within the upcoming quarter. It is expected that this militancy will be headed not by local members of the BPP but by the National leadership and functionaries from surrounding state chapters.

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (157-503) (P\*)

DATE: 9/4/69

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*Shepherd*  
*Waffner*

Remylet to the Bureau, 6/17/69.

There have been no counterintelligence programs or operations in connection with Black Nationalist groups of the Buffalo Division since submission of referenced letter. The racial situation in the Buffalo Division has been relatively quiet during the reporting period and no effective counterintelligence devices have presented themselves. A significant change in the Black Nationalist organizations in the Buffalo Division has occurred with the deactivation of the Black Panther Party (BPP) Chapter at Rochester, New York.

The only Black Nationalist organization with organized membership in the Buffalo Division is the Nation of Islam (NOI), which operates the Mosque as Muhammad's Mosque Number 23 (MM #23) at Buffalo and an auxiliary Mosque at Rochester, New York, as MM #23-B. The membership and activities at MM #23 and MM #23-B are well known and informant coverage is most adequate.

Agents having responsibility for coverage of Black Nationalist groups in the Buffalo Division are continually vigilant for organizational efforts of Black Nationalist groups and for opportunities to effect some form of counterintelligence. A watchful and continuous effort to develop an effective counterintelligence program with the Black Nationalist groups continues in the Buffalo Division.

1-804 N  
(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Buffalo

REC-114

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12 SEP 8 1969

(3) F/38  
59 SEP 12 1969



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

*De O'Neil*  
*RACIAL INT. SECT.*

213

ROUTE IN ENVELOP

1 -

SAC, Detroit (157-3214)

9-15-69

REC-62

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1251

EX-111

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReDElet 9-3-69.

Authority is granted for Detroit to mail the anonymous communication set forth in referenced letter. Detroit should insure that strict security is maintained in this matter and that the Bureau is not disclosed as the source. Advise of any results received as a result of this activity.

(4)

NOTE:

Detroit has proposed the mailing of a disruptive anonymous communication to a representative number of Detroit BPP leaders and members. The letter will be signed, "A Concerned Sister," and it is believed will cause the recipient to suspect a female leader of the BPP as the authoress of this letter. The letter questions the death of a BPP member who is believed to have committed suicide some time ago. This communication raises the possibility that national BPP leaders were the cause of this so-called suicide. We are authorizing this communication. There is no chance that the Bureau would be divulged as the source and there is no chance that an informant could be compromised. It is essential that we continue to keep the BPP disrupted.

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Bishop ☐  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☐  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☐  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐

MAILED 23

SEP 15 1969

COMM-FBI

98 SEP 13 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

214

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/3/69

FROM : SAC, Detroit (157-3214)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
 DETROIT DIVISION  
 (OO: DETROIT)

Detroit proposes utilizing the following counter-intelligence technique as a disruptive measure within the Detroit Black Panther Party (BPP). The counterintelligence technique would be in the form of an anonymous letter sent to a representative number of Detroit BPP leaders and members. This letter will be signed "A Concerned Sister" with the expectation that it will cause suspicion of [REDACTED], a Detroit BPP leader, as the author of the letter. The letter will read as follows:

"Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Who's next? You, me, who knows. Do you really believe Brother Baynham blew his brains out. Do you believe he shot the top of his head off and then took the time to hide the gun in a safe hiding place so that the pigs couldn't find it. The pigs call it 'suicide' and none of the local brothers or sisters challenge this. Who's kidding who. Why was Brother Baynham's rich black blood splattered all over a dirty room in a lousy racist city. Was this 'suicide' and the 'mercy killing' of one of our other brothers in New Haven arranged by Chief Executioner Hilliard. Why doesn't Chief Brother Hilliard speak out on our lost brothers.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Detroit  
 (4)



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-62

FBI

SEP 8 1969

RACIAL INT. SEC.

215

Letter to SAC, Detroit  
 9/15/69  
 T.H.H. del

"Let's not only ask ourselves these questions, let's also ask Brother Hilliard for the answers. How about it Brother Hilliard?"

"All power to the people.

"A Concerned Sister"

4W  
Copies of this letter will be sent to leaders and members who would be most susceptible, based on intelligence data received from Detroit sources. A copy would also be sent to National BPP Headquarters, San Francisco, addressed to HILLIARD.

This letter would be typewritten and prepared on commercially purchased paper and mailed from one of the more predominantly Negro populated communities in the Detroit area. Every precaution will be taken to see that this letter cannot be traced back to the Bureau. No action will be taken in this matter pending receipt of Bureau authority.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

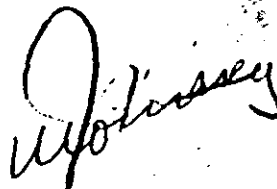
## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751) (P\*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/3/69



Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 6/3/69.

For information concerning the counterintelligence program directed against the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Bureau's attention is directed to Los Angeles letters dated 6/3, 6/16, 6/26, 7/16, 7/25, 7/30 and 8/26/69. In accordance with Bureau instructions, the counterintelligence operations against the BPP are not being set forth in this letter.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The Los Angeles Office continually follows the violations of the anti-riot and gun control laws by black nationalists looking toward prosecution of these individuals under Federal and State statutes.

A continuing survey of the telephone toll calls of various black nationalist leaders is being made under existing Bureau policy to determine what counterintelligence programs might be put into effect.

2. Operations Being Effected

The interview program within the black nationalist movement is being continued on a regular basis and this has caused some concern and disruption among the members.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
1 - Los Angeles

REC-80

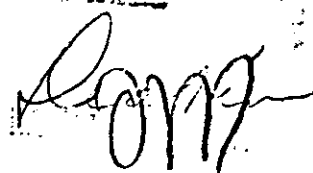
100-448006-125

EX-103

SEP 5 1969

58 SEP 15 1969

EX-806 700



217

LA 157-1751

3. Tangible Results

The membership of the "US" organization has dropped approximately 50 per cent, which is believed to be due in part to the interview program.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

It has been noted that RON KARENGA, head of the "US" organization, has moved his residence three times within the past five months to avoid harassment by the police and possibly to avoid a confrontation with the BPP. Consideration is being given by the Los Angeles Office as to what benefit could be derived through a counterintelligence program of making known KARENGA's current address to the Police Department and possibly to rival black nationalist groups.



# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, BIRMINGHAM (100-5492) (P\*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/3/69

ReBuairtel to Albany, 3/4/68.

ReBuairtel instructs a 90-day progress letter  
be submitted using the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration

Birmingham does not have at present any counter-intelligence operation under consideration.

2. Operations Being Effected

Birmingham does not have at present any counter-intelligence operation in process of execution.

3. Tangible Results

None

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Informants, who attend meetings at Muhammad's Mosque, Nation of Islam, Birmingham, advised attendance at meetings continues to decrease. They attribute this, to a large extent, to the demand for money in the form of dues, donations, participation in sales drives of "Muhammad Speaks" and ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's books, and support of the Shabazz Restaurant where prices are high compared to other eating places.

REC- 56

100-448006-10

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Birmingham

(3)

3 SEP 5 1969



U.S. GOVERNMENT

J.M.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

219

BH 100-5492

The inability of the members of the Birmingham Mosque to fulfill this demand is being followed with the expectation that if the members become disaffected, it may afford an opportunity for a counterintelligence operation against present Mosque leadership.

Other than the NOI, Birmingham does not have any organizations of the Black Nationalist - Hate Groups type.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/69

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-802) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE*B. Lockman*

Re Springfield letters to Bureau dated 6/2/69 and 7/24/69.

Referenced Springfield letter dated 7/24/69 furnished the Bureau photographs of various types of cartridges and propellants formerly in the possession of black militants in the Springfield Division, which were furnished to Springfield Office by a ghetto informant.

Mentioned in referenced letter of 6/2/69, was the possibility of counterintelligence operation in connection with recent coalition of the three main East St. Louis negro youth organizations into the Black Organizations United (BOU). In recent weeks, however, sources have advised that BOU was never able to function and is, for all practical purposes, defunct.

1-806 D  
2-Bureau (100-448006) (RM)  
2-Springfield (157-802)

(4)

REC- 56

ST-106

SEP 5 1969

24017 JET SGT.



57 16 1969 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

221

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/69

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-3138) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 3/4/68, and New Orleans letter to Bureau, 6/3/69.

BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS

Since submission of referenced New Orleans letter there have been several significant developments in Black Nationalist field in New Orleans. They are as follows:

A. Republic of New Africa (RNA)

On 6/7/69 [redacted] traveled to South America under the auspices of UNICEF. From there she traveled with several companions to Cuba where she allegedly met with FIDEL CASTRO. During [redacted] absence, [redacted] in the Southern Region was left in the hands of [redacted]. [redacted] was arrested on 6/11/69 after he participated in the reading of the "Black Manifesto" at a church in New Orleans. Subsequently, RNA leadership in Detroit and New Orleans became alarmed with [redacted] activities because the national office of the RNA had distributed a press release condemning the "Black Manifesto". During the same period, [redacted] Southern Region, continued to alienate individuals in the New Orleans area and was involved in several sexual escapades with young female members of the RNA. As a result of these escapades and his egdistical attitude, [redacted] no longer was effective as an organizer in the South. In late June, he and his girl friend, [redacted], left New Orleans to take up residence in Detroit where he was subsequently appointed [redacted] for the RNA. [redacted] is currently convinced that [redacted] is an informant for the FBI and should he return to New Orleans, he would be completely ineffective.

- 1-806  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New Orleans  
(4)

REC-72

Classified by 2047  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

5 SEP 5 1969

54 SEP 15 1969

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RACIAL INT. FILE

222

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classification  
DATE 4-16-88 BY SP-10

[REDACTED]

In July, 1969, [REDACTED] for the Southern Region, and two companions were arrested in Jackson, Miss., when they attempted to burglarize a hardware store for guns. Also in August, [REDACTED] and deserter, was arrested by New Orleans Police and turned over to the authorities. [REDACTED] is currently confined in the stockade at Ft. Polk, La., for a period of six months.

During the period 8/15-16/69, the Southern Region held a regional conference in Slidell, La., which was attended by approximately thirty people including [REDACTED]

#### B. Black People's Party (BPP)

During August, 1969, it was determined that individuals formerly associated with the Afro-American Society at Southern University, New Orleans (SUNO) had formed an organization in New Orleans which they called the Black People's Party. This organization has as its stated purpose the reinstatement of students suspended or expelled during student demonstrations, the dismissal of legal action against the students and a refund of money to those students who had been expelled or suspended. A spokesman for the group, [REDACTED], states that the BPP plans to disrupt registration at SUNO on 9/9/69.

#### I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

The following are being considered and every opportunity will be taken to implement them.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B. Every attempt will be made to maintain the split between the RNA and its former affiliates. If [REDACTED] returns to New Orleans, he will accomplish this purpose for the New Orleans Office.

[REDACTED]

## II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

During June, 1969, an anonymous letter was mailed by New Orleans Office to [REDACTED] RNA, Detroit, advising him that [REDACTED] is having an affair with his [REDACTED] mistress in New Orleans. This letter subsequently was returned to New Orleans and came into the hands of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] New Orleans notes that [REDACTED] recently has come under severe criticism from RNA leaders because of his lack of effectiveness.

## III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/3/69

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Baltimore letter to Director, FBI, 6/2/69,  
6/6/69, 6/23/69, 7/7/69, 7/14/69, 7/22/69, 8/4/69,  
and 8/20/69.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The Soul School in Baltimore is considered a target for counterintelligence measures in the Baltimore area. Baltimore is attempting to develop informant coverage in the Soul School and when this is accomplished suggestions will be submitted for counterintelligence programs.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Baltimore area has been without direct leadership since Captain WARREN HART was deserted. The BPP has been in a disrupted state during this period and specific suggestions were not submitted until such a time as the leadership of the Baltimore (BPP) is resolved.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

No operations of the Soul School or the BPP are being effectuated at this time.

3. Tangible Results

There have been no tangible results in connection with this program in the Baltimore Division to date.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

The major development of counterintelligence interest is the Baltimore Division is to keep the Soul School and the BPP from forming an alliance.

1-8069  
(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL) ST-106  
Baltimore

57 SEP 5 1969



5010-108-01

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225

FBI

Date: 9/2/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALISTS-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

BI-WEEKLY LETTER  
PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE  
AGAINST BPP CHAPTER  
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Re Kansas City letter, 8/18/69.

No new developments of interest as to current  
potential targets for counterintelligence action have  
appeared in the past two weeks.

EX-105

REC-19

100-448006 1245

②-Bureau (Pm)  
2-Kansas City

(4)

3 SEP 2 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

proved:

12 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

226



1  
1

Mr.  
Mr.

8/29/69

Airtel

To: SAC, Milwaukee (157-459)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) 12/14

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Reurairtel 8/21/69.

Authority is granted to anonymously mail copies of the articles furnished to you as enclosures to Bulet 7/2/69 to the churches and main offices of grocery stores as suggested by your re airtel.

Insure that the identity of this Bureau is not divulged in connection with these anonymous mailings. Your participation in this counterintelligence endeavor is appreciated. Advise of any tangible results obtained.

NOTE:

The Bureau previously furnished to the field copies duplicated on unwatermarked paper which contained no identifying information of articles from "The Black Panther" newspaper to be used in the counterintelligence program directed against the Black Panther Party.(BPP) and its "Breakfast for Children" program. These articles clearly show the hatred of the white man by the black community as put forth by the BPP. This authorizes MI to anonymously furnish copies of these articles to the churches and main offices of grocery stores who have cooperated with the BPP in the MI area in sponsoring the "Breakfast for Children" program. In neutralizing the "Breakfast for Children" program, we do not desire to prevent needy children from these breakfasts but are attempting to prevent the poisoning of the children's minds by hard core BPP members who always conduct "Liberation School Classes" in connection with these breakfasts. The school classes endeavor to impress upon the minds of the young children the aims and objectives of the BPP.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Bishop ☐  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☐  
Rosen ☐  
Sullivan ☐  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

AUG 29 1969

COMM-FBI

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FBI

Date: 8/21/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulets captioned as above and dated 7/2, 11/69.

As noted in relet of 7/11/69, Milwaukee has developed info that the BPP is operating the Breakfast for Children Program in Milwaukee. BPP members have approached numerous churches about using their facilities for this program but to date they have been unsuccessful.

In addition, the BPP has solicited money and food from numerous grocery stores in the Milwaukee area. Milwaukee sources indicate that the BPP may be receiving as much as \$500 per week in money and food contributions.

It is felt that copies of the articles attached to relet should be mailed anonymously to main offices of grocery stores which are already involved or who may become involved in contributing to the breakfast program. It is also felt that copies should be sent to churches in the area which are being approached by the BPP for the purpose of obtaining facilities for the breakfast program.

Since the Breakfast for Children Program and other BPP activities have been widely publicized in Milwaukee, there would be no reason for recipients of the above material to identify the Bureau as the source.

It is recommended that the following churches and grocery stores be furnished with copies of attachments to relet of 7/2/69:

- (2) - Bureau  
(1) - Milwaukee

(3)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge  
SEP 5 1969

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

REC-42  
100-448006-17-1  
9/2  
12 AUG 25 1969

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228

MI 157-459

Cross Lutheran Church, 1821 N. 16th St., Milwaukee;  
Zion Traveler Baptist Church, 2526 N. 13th St., Milwaukee;  
Calvary Baptist Church, 1727 N. 4th St., Milwaukee;  
St. John Christian Methodist Episcopal Tabernacle,  
2730 N. 4th, Milwaukee;  
National Food Stores, Inc., 2727 W. Silver  
Spring Dr., Milwaukee;  
Kroger Food Stores, 4700 N. 132nd, Milwaukee;  
Red Owl Stores Inc., 4046 N. Teutonia, Milwaukee;  
Sentry Food Stores, 1200 W. Sunset Dr., Waukesha;  
Kohl's Food Stores, 11100 W. Burleigh, Milwaukee;  
Del Farm Food Stores, 1401 W. Center, Milwaukee.

FBI

Date: 8/29/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(NATION OF ISLAM)

Re Miami airtels to the Director (copy to Chicago), 8/22/69, and 8/25/69.

Referenced airtel dated 8/22/69 reflects Miami has the authority to assist [REDACTED] WCKT-TV, a local Miami station, in preparation of a documentary-type expose of the NOI in the south Florida area, the objective being to show how the NOI takes money from the black people of the Miami area and gives nothing in return. Miami requested the Bureau and Chicago to furnish photographs or films of NOI meetings, conventions, or other affairs.

[REDACTED] objectives are not clear in that it cannot be determined whether his expose is to be confined to the Miami area or is to be national in scope. However, the following is set forth for consideration:

It would appear that [REDACTED] would desire to present a current picture of the actual inner workings of the NOI. He mentions exposing misuse of donations and receipts from the sale of "Muhammad Speaks" (MS). This is most difficult to do from interviews of the membership

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Miami (157-2414) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-6

100-448006-1243

EX-113

SEP 1 1969

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

54 SEP 15 1969

RECEIVED  
INTELL. SECT.

230

as they consider donations they make much as would regular church goers. It is recognized ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and other NOI leaders live lavishly. This has been exposed and is well known. It had no discernible effect on the NOI membership. It is known, and has been reported in semi-annual NOI reports available to Miami, that the NOI, for the past several years, has been using cash accrued from land appreciation, donations, and receipts from the sale of MS to buy farms in both Georgia and Michigan, to buy buildings in Chicago, and converting same into restaurants, stores, etc.

Investigation has determined these are registered in the names of Progressive Land Developers, Incorporated, and/or United Dynamic Corporation, both incorporated in the State of Illinois and both having prominent NOI leaders as members of the Board of Directors.

Enclosed for Miami is a Xerox copy of an article entitled, "Black Muslims Set Their Sights on the Supremacy of Capitalism" by WILLIAM JONES, which article appeared in the "Chicago Sunday Tribune," 1/26/69, page 1. This article sets forth full details regarding the NOI's use of monies received. It is felt the pertinent development is the NOI using non-religious corporations to invest the monetary receipts - the investments not being titled under the name NOI, Muhammad's Temple Number 2, etc. When ELIJAH MUHAMMAD becomes incapacitated or passes on, what happens to these holdings insofar as the membership is concerned?

[REDACTED] may desire to contact the "Chicago Tribune" as to whether he can use the above article.

Chicago has not for several years conducted any photographic surveillances of NOI conventions, etc., due to racial tensions. It would appear [REDACTED] could obtain such photographs from issues of MS which are available to Miami. It would further appear [REDACTED] could purchase ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's LP records, which are advertised in MS

CG 157-2209

weekly or could contact Radio Station WFAB, Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, for taped speeches by MUHAMMAD as his tapes are advertised as played thereon at 5:30 a.m. each Sunday. It is also noted MUHAMMAD's books, "Message to the Black Man" and "How to Eat to Live," are both advertised in MS. Of course, MS is the best source of NOI activity.

It would appear [REDACTED] might consider direct contact with various NOI ministers in the Miami area as past experience has shown they welcome chances to be interviewed. If former members who are willing to discuss the situation could be located, this should be considered.

At the present time, Chicago does not desire to rehash some of the exposes that occurred around the time of the defection of MALCOLM X LITTLE as top level sources could be endangered and future activities thereof curtailed.

Referenced Miami airtel dated 8/25/69, reflected [REDACTED] is attempting to locate statements of prominent government and police officials regarding dangers created by the NOI. Again, Chicago agrees that the constant hate teachings against the white race is most undesirable. This is especially true as it relates to the children of the membership who are indoctrinated from birth on to hate the white man.

In an effort to keep [REDACTED] proposed documentary current, the following observations are set forth:

Report of [REDACTED] dated 6/20/69, pages 49 - 53, copy available to Miami, sets forth full details regarding ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's statements concerning his version of law and order; sets forth data regarding a meeting of the minds between the NOI and the Chicago Police Department; and relates details concerning plans by the National Society of Afro-American Policemen, New York City, to honor MUHAMMAD and the NOI in June, 1969. While this is in no way meant to infer the NOI is a useful, integral

CG 157-2209

part of our society, it does infer a step forward may be occurring insofar as the NOI and police cooperation are concerned.

Several years ago, Chicago utilized a local Federal Judge to speak out against the NOI. He has not been utilized in this regard since the murder of MALCOLM X LITTLE as it was not the Bureau's desire to involve him in a name-calling contest. It is felt this trend should continue.

As you are aware, the NOI has carefully avoided any and all contact with other Black Nationalist groups and their involvements other than to call on them to join MUHAMMAD, the only divinely inspired leader of the black man.

Chicago is not in possession of information as to whether the NOI Temple in Miami is operating a University of Islam for children of its membership, but whether it does or not, [REDACTED] may desire to consider interviews of NOI leaders in Miami regarding the indoctrination of the children, specifically, as it relates to their feelings towards the white man, the United States Government, etc.

[REDACTED] may also desire to consider interviews of various local southern Florida police chiefs for their comments in this regard and also interviews of local prison officials relating to NOI activities therein.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/2/69

Re Chicago letter (quarterly progress) dated 6/18/69.

Set forth hereinafter is the periodic progress letter concerning captioned matter as directed in Bureau airtel dated March 4, 1968, under captions as instructed:

## 1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

In connection with captioned matter, Chicago is under Bureau instructions to submit, on a two week basis, a counterintelligence proposal regarding the Black Panther Party (BPP). Bureau letter to Baltimore, dated April 25, 1969, advised that in the quarterly progress letters it would be sufficient to note the dates on which these letters were submitted.

Since referenced letter, these letters have been submitted as follows:

July 9, July 13, and August 12, 1969.

Chicago continues to regard the local BPP as the focal point for counterintelligence. In this field, Chicago continues to analyze the available current information regarding local BPP activity in a continuing effort to determine what, if any, such information may be of any assistance in the development of a counterintelligence effort.

- 1-8000
- ② - Bureau (RM)
  - 3 - Chicago
    - (1- 157-1291) (BPP)
    - (1- 157-3645) (Young Lords)

EX-104

REC-54

9 SEP 4 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.



12 1969

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234



In recent weeks a highly vocal group of young Puerto Ricans calling themselves the Young Lords have undertaken action in the north side Puerto Rican neighborhood. This group is basically a youth gang, however, they have become active in neighborhood matters particularly urban renewal problems for the area. Information available concerning the Young Lords and its leaders is being reviewed with the end in mind of the possibility of developing a suitable counter-intelligence program concerning this group. When and if a suitable recommendation is developed, such will be provided to the Bureau in the event an effective action can be formulated.

2 and 3. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED AND TANGIBLE RESULTS OBTAINED

Chicago at present has in effect the program authorized by the Bureau July 31, 1969, to mail copies of cartoons prepared to further efforts to create a rift between the BPP and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It is, as yet, too early to determine what, if any, effect will be forthcoming.

This program is being pursued very carefully, in light of the Bureau's observations in letter of July 31, 1969. Any tangible results subsequently obtained will be provided the Bureau.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The recent statement of DAVID HILLIARD, BPP, Chief of Staff, that the BPP will take action against SDS if they make "one more counter-revolutionary statement" would appear to indicate a widening of a rift between the BPP and SDS. This situation will be followed closely and where a counterintelligence effort would appear to have reasonably tangible potential, a suitable recommendation will be submitted.

No counterintelligence action will be taken by Chicago without Bureau approval.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/3/69

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520) P

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM

Re Baltimore letter to Bureau dated 8/20/69.

During the two week period 8/18/69 - 8/29/69, there were no specific counterintelligence measures taken against the Black Panther Party (BPP).

[REDACTED] advised that although it has not been officially announced that MELVIN NEWTON, a member of the BPP and the brother of HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, has been kicked out of the BPP and that HUEY P. NEWTON is possibly going to be kicked out of the Party in the near future, it is recommended that anonymous letters be sent to HUEY P. NEWTON in jail to the effect that the Party leadership is using funds raised for the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund for the selfish means of the high-ranking BPP leadership. It could also be mentioned that the orders that HUEY has been disseminating from his prison headquarters are being distorted to meet the desires of the present leadership.

[REDACTED] also advised that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, has grown disenchanted with the BPP leadership and the running of the Party and is soon to return to the United States and join a group of ousted members of the BPP and start a new organization. It is recommended in line with the aforementioned anonymous communications, that rumors should be started to the effect that CLEAVER is not in agreement with the present leadership and that he is going to resign from the Party prior to his own announcement of breaking away from the BPP.

No action will be taken until approval is received from the Bureau.

② - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL) REC-80  
① - Baltimore  
(3)

SEP 4 1969



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

236

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/69

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-3138) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re Buairtel, 4/24/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are negatives and twenty photographs.

The enclosed photographs were made available through co-operation of [REDACTED]. The book and weapon came into their hands as the result of the arrest by police officers of [REDACTED] (Bufile 157-12129).

[REDACTED], and eight of his followers on 8/6/69, for reviling the police.

Gun and book were determined from fingerprints found thereon to belong to [REDACTED] one of the individuals arrested.

New Orleans plans to utilize enlargements of these photographs in its Racial Matter classes.

1 + 6 encl 806 D  
2 - Bureau (Encls. 21) (RM)  
1 - New Orleans  
RJH/bnk  
(3)

EX-102

REC-73

31 SEP 4 1969

51 SEP 17 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

237

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/30/69

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921) (P\*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel 3/4/68, and mylet 7/1/69.

- 1.) None.
- 2.) None.
- 3.) None.
- 4.) None.

Photographs of scenes of recent racial violence in the Columbus, Ohio, area are being obtained, and will be submitted in appropriate form.

There have been no changes in the overall Black Nationalist Movement in this Division, which have not been previously furnished to the Bureau.

1-806  
② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Cincinnati

(4)

REC-78

EX-105

100 448006  
3 SEP 4 1969



57 SEP 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 9/2/69

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re SL let to Bureau, 6/3/69.

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the St. Louis Division in the past 90 days:

1. Operations Under Consideration

By letter dated 7/11/69, this Division sent in a pamphlet entitled "STORM WARNINGS" which was prepared by the Division as though a "right-wing" organization locally had published it. It exposed and ridiculed local Black Extremists and Communists. Certain questions were raised by the Bureau in regard to the pamphlet and revisions are being sent by St. Louis with a view toward obtaining Bureau authority to initiate this counterintelligence program.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

By letter dated 6/3/69 to New York, the Bureau authorized New York to send an anonymous mailing of STAUTON LYNN's letter which criticized the Black Panther Party. St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 6/27/69 provided New York with a list of 42 individuals and groups to which New York was to mail the letter. St. Louis sources have not reported any of the individuals or groups receiving this letter but New York may not have completed this activity inasmuch as St. Louis included one of its confidential postal boxes in the list given to New York, and no such letter has been received at this box.

1 - 806 8  
(3) - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New York (RM)  
2 - St. Louis  
1 - 157-5818  
1 - 100-21213

REC-72

EX. - 113

22 SEP 4 1969



54 SEP 15 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT

239

SL: 157-5818

### 3. Tangible Results

The counterintelligence program regarding the "Blackboard" newspaper handled this spring by this Division apparently completely "destroyed" [REDACTED] as a racial figure of any consequence. [REDACTED] who was an extremely active and vocal leader prior to this activity, is practically an "unknown" and has been completely neutralized.

### 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

ACTION, a local Black activist group whose membership includes both Negroes and whites, is at the present time the only Black group of any significance other than the NOI. This Division is considering the best way to exploit differences among the membership with a view toward decreasing the group's effectiveness.

With the new school year starting soon, various Black and white student groups will be watched most closely for any attempts at violence. Any such group will be a target for counterintelligence activity and Bureau authority will be requested when positive plans are developed.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, St. Louis (157-5818)  
REC-128

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

9/19/69

Director, FBI (100-448006) -1237

EX-111

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulet 7/29/69 and SLlet 8/29/69.

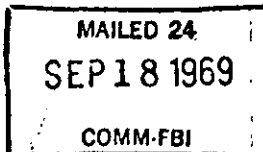
A review of referenced SLlet failed to disclose whether the production and distribution of this pamphlet would be a criminal violation because the author and publisher are unidentified. In many jurisdictions it is a violation to produce and mail anonymous communications of a nature such as the proposed pamphlet. It is not desirable that local authorities should ever have to conduct an investigation as a result of counterintelligence activity. St. Louis should determine this fact and advise the Bureau.

(6)

NOTE:

St. Louis has proposed the anonymous mailing of a pamphlet to approximately 50 persons and organizations in the St. Louis area. This pamphlet will be entitled "Storm Warnings" and is designed to look like a Right wing publication. The pamphlet itself includes public source information on various leftists, student agitators and members of the Black Panther Party. Prior to authorizing this communication we are requesting information as to whether the production and subsequent mailing of this type of pamphlet is in and of itself a violation of any local criminal statute.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_



98 SEP 22 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

241

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8-29-69

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BBP)

Remylet, 7-11-69, and Bulet, 7-29-69.

The pamphlet "Storm Warnings" has been reviewed by the St. Louis Division. Since the pamphlet will be mailed in Missouri to persons in Missouri only, the statutes of that state are at issue. Missouri statutes, Sections 559.410, 559.430, and 559.440 concern libel and define same as the "malicious defamation of a person which is made public." There is no doubt that "Storm Warnings" would fall in that category. However, the statutes further stipulate "truth is a complete defense" against any libel charges. Since each statement in the pamphlet contains a basis in fact any libel action is, therefore, negated. There are two additional factors which make any libel action unlikely. 1) The victims cannot take legal action against an unknown publisher (of Storm Warnings) and 2) Since the victims realize that the remarks are largely true, they would be very reticent to further publicize the statements by instituting legal action.

In view of the above, St. Louis requests that authority be granted to initiate this counterintelligence activity, with the following changes to be made:

Paragraph entitled "YUSUF SHABAZZ" to be deleted and the following substituted:

A home-grown Negro agitator and convicted narcotics pusher, *[redacted]* joined forces with *[redacted]* this summer

(2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - St. Louis

(4)

REC-72

SEP 4 1969

1CC81094

EX-115

*[Signature]*  
RACIAL INTL. SEC.



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

242



SL 157-5818

to jam the demands of the Marxist "Black Manifesto" down the throats of innocent Christian church-goers.

[REDACTED] who has never worked a day in his life, wants the White Community to hand him \$500,000 cash "or else" so he can finance his expensive habits. Even members of his own race find him obnoxious; he has been booted out of CORE for running up a \$300 telephone bill calling his girlfriends throughout the country.

Paragraph entitled [REDACTED] will be changed so that last sentence will read:

"He is in the thick of every anti-U.S. demonstration and usually accompanied by his young Japanese 'girl-friend', a teacher at Webster Groves College."

St. Louis proposes to send this pamphlet to the 32 area chapters of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars as well as the below "right-wing" organizations and individuals:

The American Revelation, P. O. Box 292, Hazelwood, Mo. 63042

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, 3835 Westminster Pl. or P. O. Box 11321, St. Louis, Mo. 63105

American Opinion Bookstore, 9914 Clayton Rd., Clayton, Mo. 63124

Young Americans for Freedom, 214 N. Clay, Kirkwood, Mo. 63122

Litho Type Service, 8852 St. Charles Rock Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114

Y.A.R.A., 101 Firwood Dr., Webster Groves, Mo.

Christian News, [REDACTED], P. O. Box 168, New Haven, Mo.

Florissant TACT Comm., 1860 Gardenia Dr., Florissant, Mo. 63031

SL 157-5818

Free Friends of Captive Nations, P. O. Box 6861,  
St. Louis, Mo. 63144

Calvary Chapel, 25 Clark St., Ferguson, Mo. 63135

T.R.A.I.N., 2802 Cranberry Court, Florissant, Mo.  
63033

Support Your Local Police, P.O. Box 142, Florissant,  
Mo. 63031

[REDACTED] St. Louis, Mo.  
63116

[REDACTED] St. Louis, Mo.

[REDACTED], Webster  
Groves, Mo. 63119

[REDACTED], St. Louis, Mo. 63074

[REDACTED], St. Charles, Mo.  
63301

[REDACTED], St. Louis,  
Mo. 63111

[REDACTED] Spanish Lake, Mo.,  
63033

[REDACTED], St. Louis, Mo. 63107

[REDACTED], Troy, Mo.

[REDACTED], St. Louis, Mo.

[REDACTED], St. Ann, Mo.  
63074

[REDACTED] Clayton, Mo. 63124

[REDACTED], St.  
Louis, Mo.

SL 157-5818

[REDACTED] St. Louis,  
Mo. 63139

[REDACTED], Florissant,  
Mo. 63033

[REDACTED] Mo. 63121

[REDACTED] Louis, Mo.  
63111

[REDACTED],  
Mo. 63033

[REDACTED] St. Louis, Mo.  
63127.

The above names and addresses have been obtained  
from public source materials, primarily newspapers.

St. Louis proposes to send two copies of "Storm  
Warnings" to each organization and one copy to each individual.

9/12/69

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-10)  
FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-2346) (P)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM - BPP  
SUBMISSION OF INTELLIGENCE DATA

Remyairtel 8/29/69.

There has been no recent indication of there being a BPP group in Cincinnati or of efforts to organize same.

There has been no significant activity in Columbus, Ohio, on the part of the BPP type group in that city. Efforts continue at Columbus to develop sources relative to this group.

Cincinnati has no counterintelligence recommendations at this time. When actual BPP organizational efforts are determined, this Division will develop counterintelligence items to combat same.

- 3 - Bureau (1 - 100-448006, Counterintelligence Program) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2137) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati

[REDACTED]

100-448006-  
NOT RECORDED  
178 SEP 17 1969

53 SEP 22 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 246

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-418006)

DATE: 8/29/69

FROM : *PC/M* SAC, OMAHA (157-272) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*W. J. [unclear]*  
*(info)*

*K* 6/2/69. Re quarterly letter submitted in captioned program,

Bi-weekly letters under captioned program were submitted on the following dates: 6/2, 16, 30/69; 7/14, 28/69; 8/11, 25/69.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Operations under consideration                | 0 |
| 2. Operations being effected                     | 0 |
| 3. Tangible results                              | 0 |
| 4. Developments of counterintelligence interests | 0 |

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
Omaha  
(4)

EX-102

REC-68 100-497 1236

SEP 2 1969

*DA [unclear]*  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*103*  
4 SEP 10 1969



5010-108-02

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247